

THE

Courte of Venus.

Reuoly and diligently corrected
with many proper Ballades newly
amended, and also added therunto
which haue not before bene
printed.

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THE COURT OF VENUS

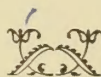
The Court of Venus

EDITED

AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

RUSSELL A. FRASER



DURHAM, N. C.

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To
Hyder E. Rollins

. . . And truly it was thus far my design, that I might entertain you with somewhat in my own art which might be more worthy of a noble mind than the stale exploded trick of fulsome panegyrics.

JOHN DRYDEN, 1681

Now I see you are in a melancholicke humour. If you will goe home with me, I can give you a speedy remedy: for I have many pleasant and merry bookes, which if you should heare them read, would soone remedy you of this melancholy. I have the Court of Venus . . . excellent and singular . . . against hartquames: and to remove such dumpishnesse, as I see you are now fallen into.

The Plaine mans Path-way to Heauen, 1601

Preface

In the year 1536, Henry's queen, Anne Boleyn, made a tragic ascent from the throne to the scaffold. Her quondam lover, Sir Thomas Wyatt, went briefly to the Tower to reflect on the dangers of trifling with her who was Caesar's. The Earl of Surrey, Anne's cousin and Wyatt's fervent admirer, acted as earl marshal at the trial of the queen and was himself confined for striking a courtier on the royal grounds at Hampton Court. In the North, discontent was seething, and the harassed citizens of Lincolnshire broke into active rebellion in October. Surrey served with his father in helping to crush the uprising, and Wyatt, restored to favor, was ordered to raise men for the defense of the realm. An anxious priest named Robert Shyngleton was beginning to attract unfavorable attention for his reflections on the times. Thomas Sackville, who was later to bridge the gulf between Chaucer and Spenser with his Induction in *A Mirror for Magistrates*, was born. And over England hung the twin portents of Renaissance and Reformation.

Against this background *The Court of Venus*, a book which was to launch modern English verse on its way, was being prepared. *The Court of Venus* is the generic title for three different fragments of a sixteenth-century poetical miscellany. One fragment, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, consists of fifteen leaves, and is known as Douce g.3. Another contains eight leaves, and is the only one of the three with a title page, which, however, lacks imprint or date. This fragment is in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington. The third fragment, in the Stark collection of the University of Texas, is made up of only two leaves, and though its contents are similar to the Folger fragment, its running title is not *The Court of Venus*, as is the case with the first two fragments, but *A Boke of Balettes*. It was discovered in 1928 in the form of end papers bound in the 1551 translation of More's *Utopia*. For the sake of convenience, I shall refer to these fragments in the following discussion as Douce, Folger, and Stark.

My work on *The Court of Venus* would have been impossible without the friendly assistance of the staff of the Houghton and

PREFACE

Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Libraries, of Harvard University. For this assistance, and for that accorded me by the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the libraries of the University of Texas and the Huntington Library, I am most grateful. Specific aid has been given me by Professor Robert S. Kinsman, of the University of California, Los Angeles; Miss Fannie Ratchford, Librarian of the Rare Book Collections in the University of Texas; Dr. James G. McManaway, Consultant in Literature and Bibliography at the Folger Shakespeare Library, and Dr. E. E. Willoughby, Chief Bibliographer in that institution; Professor W. A. Jackson of the Houghton Library; Mr. H. Sellers and Miss A. O'Donovan of the British Museum; Miss Emma Marshall Denkinger, Professor of English in Wellesley College; Dr. R. C. Harrier of Colby College; Professor Fredson Bowers of the University of Virginia; Professor Herschel Baker, Harvard University; Professor H. A. Mason, Downing College, Cambridge; and Mr. Herman R. Mead, Bibliographer of the Huntington Library. For the help freely rendered by each of these scholars, I am sincerely appreciative. I wish also to acknowledge my debt to the Duke University Research Council for its most generous support, and to Mr. Ashbel Brice and his colleagues of the Duke University Press.

Chiefly, however, do I owe thanks to Dr. W. H. Bond of the Houghton Library and Professor Hyder E. Rollins, Harvard University, whose keen but kindly criticism and entire readiness to read and reread my work, even to the mystical moment of dullness, have been the major factor in whatever success I have achieved in the working out of the problems treated in the ensuing pages. My gratitude for the encouragement and stimulation which I received from Professor Rollins is not easily expressed.

Durham, N. C.

RUSSELL A. FRASER

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Photostatic Reproductions

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The initial *M* of the Stark fragment,
as it appears in *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*

The initial *M* of the Stark fragment, and the peculiar capital *Y*

The initial *S* of the Stark fragment,
as it appears in *The Treasury of Health*

The initial *S* of the Stark fragment, and the peculiar capital *Y*

The Stark *Y*, as it appears in Fox's *True Differences*

English and Scottish Printing Types, Colonel F. S. Isaac

Title pages of *The Castle of Health* and *The Court of Venus*

The three unique capital *W*'s of the Folger fragment

The three *W*'s of the Folger fragment,
as they appear in *The Court of Virtue*

The *Y* of the Folger fragment, as it appears in
The Court of Virtue

Fragment of the flyleaf, Devonshire MS

Devonshire MS, folio 17

Facsimile of the first poem in the Egerton MS

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1. Introduction

1. The Printers

The three fragments of *The Court of Venus* are printed in the variety of black-letter type known as *textura*. Since a different size of type is used in each case, it is probable that the fragments represent the work of three different printers. I will attempt to show who these printers were, when they were active, and, hence, when each of the three fragments could have appeared.

The *textura* type of the Douce fragment¹ measures 82 millimeters for 20 lines of text. (The use of 20 lines as a standard is the measurement I have employed in my work.) Checking Colonel Frank S. Isaac's *English and Scottish Printing Types 1535-58* * 1552-58,² a book which attempts to catalogue the sizes and kinds of type employed by various printers, I discovered that the type used by Thomas Gybson was apparently identical with the type used in Douce. In 1535 Gybson brought out *The Concordance of the New Testament*.³ Not only is this work interesting because it is the first concordance printed in the English language, and because of its epistle to the reader, written by Gybson and intimating that he was the compiler, but also because its 83 mm. *textura* is the same as that employed in the Douce fragment.⁴ On sigs. E8^v, F1^r, F2^v, and F4^r of the Douce fragment, following the running title, there occurs a misshapen punctuation mark. It is probably a question mark, distorted beyond easy recognition, and pressed into service—or used inadvertently—to conclude the running title on these pages. This punctuation mark is closely approximated in *A Paraphrasis upon All the Psalms*,⁵ by Joannes Campensis, translated out of Latin, and printed by T. Gybson in 1539. In this

¹ S.T.C. 24650.

² (Oxford, 1932).

³ S.T.C. 3046.

⁴ A slight variation in measurement because of paper shrinkage is to be expected. Cited in this study are several measurements of type in which the variation is more than slight. In such cases the reader has a right to feel something less than full confidence. In no case, however, does a final conclusion depend on measurements which differ significantly from the measurements of Douce, Stark, and Folger.

⁵ S.T.C. 14620.

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work, printed in textura type measuring 85 mm., between signature letter and numeral on E.1 the misshapen punctuation mark occurs. It is reproduced again throughout the text as a decorative filler beneath initial letters. In the *Paraphrasis* and Douce there occurs the same paragraph mark, resembling an inverted *D*, partially filled in.

If it be urged that the historian William Herbert, the *Hand-Lists of English Printers*, and *The Chronological Index to the Short-Title Catalogue* give no secular work to Gybson, the notoriously anticlerical bias of *The Pilgrim's Tale*, which makes up the larger part of the Douce fragment, might be thought to overbalance whatever strictures the anti-Romanist printer entertained against "frivolous" work. Further, there is a possibility that much of Gybson's work, perhaps lighter in tone than that which is characteristic of him, has been lost, with other early books by other men.

There remains to be considered the unsupported conjecture of Mrs. C. C. Stopes that the Douce fragment "probably [went through] the printing press of Bonham, who would be known to be about to publish William Thynne's second edition of Chaucer."⁶ Although the name William Bonham is found in the colophon of one or two books, there is no evidence to show that he was a printer at all. Indeed, the edition of Chaucer mentioned by Mrs. Stopes is certainly not the work of Bonham, but of Edward Whitchurch, and while there is considerable information about this printer because of his connection with the Great Bible, he is not known to have used textura of the size of the Douce fragment.

There is, moreover, in Bishop John Bale's *Index Britanniae scriptorum* a reference to *The Court of Venus*, called by Bale *Curiam Veneris*.⁷ Now in Bale's enormous catalogue of British writers, the *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum summarium*, published at Ipswich on July 31, 1548, and in the second and enlarged edition, published at Basle in September, 1557, and February, 1559, *The Court of Venus* is listed among Chaucer's works. But in the *Index*, begun in 1549 or 1550, and finished sometime after 1557,⁸ an abrupt change occurs, and a dissenting priest named

⁶ *Shakespeare's Industry* (London, 1916), p. 321.

⁷ *Index Britanniae scriptorum*, ed. Reginald Lane Poole (Oxford, 1902),

p. 389.

⁸ p. xxi.

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Shyngleton is called the author. This fact has been observed before,⁹ but no one, to my knowledge, has ever taken proper cognizance of Bale's authority for the attribution. That authority is "Thoma Gybson medico." Perhaps it simply did not occur to previous writers to connect this doctor, Thomas Gybson, with Gybson the printer, who had been active in the thirties. But they are the same man. What is more, Gybson and Bale were apparently friends, for the printer-turned-doctor gave Bale a medical recipe which was included in the collection that became the *Index*.¹⁰ Finally, the 1557 *Scriptores*, published again in 1559, is mentioned in the *Index*,¹¹ so that the attribution of the *Court* to Chaucer in 1559 may simply represent the error carried over from the 1557 edition. We may take the attribution in the *Index* as Bale's last word. Now since Gybson is directly responsible for the change made by Bale, we may logically connect the printer with *The Court of Venus*. And when we find that, independent of his intimate knowledge of the *Court*, he is, on typographical grounds, the one most likely to have printed it, we become almost certain that he was in fact the printer. In addition, Thomas Gybson¹² was known for his strong antipathy to the Roman Catholics. The chief component of the Douce fragment, *The Pilgrim's Tale*, is strongly anticlerical in tone. The *Hand-Lists* first mention Gybson in 1535, and *The Chronological Index* in 1538. Though he had ceased printing in 1539, Gybson lived on until 1562. Colonel Isaac says of Gybson's work: "The types used are those of W. Copland." Perhaps he means that Gybson's types descended to Copland, though Copland never used textura of the size common to Gybson

⁹ See E. K. Chambers, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and Some Collected Studies* (London, 1933), pp. 114 f.

¹⁰ Poole, p. viii.

¹¹ P. xxi.

¹² For information on Gybson see *D.N.B.*, XXI (1890), 284; *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (London, 1813), II, 331; Charles Henry Cooper and Thomson Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1858), I, 217; *State Papers, King Henry the Eighth* (1830), I, part II, 564; William Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities* (London, 1785), I, 116, 490; *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (London, 1901), VI, part I, 17; E. Gordon Duff, R. B. McKerrow, W. W. Greg, A. W. Pollard, H. R. Plomer, R. Proctor, *Hand-Lists of English Printers, 1501-1555* (London, 1895-1913), part III, under *Gibson*; E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London, 1905), p. 55; Isaac, under *Gybson* (Isaac's book is unpagged and reference is therefore to the printer); John Southerden Burn, *Livre des anglois in The History of Parish Registers in England* (London, 1862), p. 281.

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and the Douce fragment. Some relationship between the printers is indicated, however, by Copland's use of capital initials apparently identical with those used by Gybson. I conclude that Thomas Gybson was the printer of Douce, and that the fragment came from his press sometime between the years 1535 and 1539.

The textura size of the Stark fragment, *A Boke of Balettes*, is 62 mm. Colonel Isaac records the use by the printer William Copland of textura type measuring 63 mm. from 1548 to 1558. Actually, Copland worked with textura of this size and kind from the beginning of his printing career. Bishop Edward Fox's *The True Differences between the Regal and the Ecclesiastical Power*,¹³ translated by Henry Lord Stafford, and printed by Copland in 1548, uses textura type measuring 64 mm. for the dedication and side notes. William Tyndale's *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*,¹⁴ issued by Copland in 1549, is printed in textura type measuring 62 mm. Type in *The Obedience of a Christian Man*,¹⁵ printed by Copland about 1550, measures 63 mm. Probably in 1548, Copland brought out *A Short Treatise of Certain Things Abused in the Popish Church, Long Used*.¹⁶ This work is printed in textura type measuring 60.5 mm. Hyspanus's *Treasury of Health*, translated by Lloyd, and printed by Copland in two issues,¹⁷ probably in 1550, also uses textura of this size in the preface.

The most striking typographical characteristic of the Stark fragment is its use of the capital initials *L*, *S*, and *M*. In the 1549 *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, we find on sig. D8^v the initial *M* of the second leaf of *A Boke of Balettes*. The Copland *M* tallies almost exactly with the Stark, measuring 1.1 x 1.2 cm. against the latter's 1.15 x 1.2 cm. In the second issue of the 1550 *Treasury of Health*, we discover the initial *S* found on the verso of the first leaf of the Stark fragment, on sig. X3^v, and elsewhere throughout the book. It measures 1.05 x 1.05 cm., as against 1.1 x 1.1 cm. in Stark, and is older appearing: in fairly good shape, but pocked, though this apparent deterioration may be due to inking. Also reproduced in several places is the pointing hand of the versos of both leaves of the Stark fragment. Of 1550, too, is *Sir Degore*,¹⁸ printed by Copland, and using the initial *S* of the Stark fragment

¹³ *S.T.C.* 11220.

¹⁵ *S.T.C.* 24451.

¹⁷ *S.T.C.* 14652; *S.T.C.* 14652a.

¹⁴ *S.T.C.* 24459.

¹⁶ *S.T.C.* 18056.

¹⁸ *S.T.C.* 6471.

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on the title page. The Copland *S* measures 1.05 x 1.1 cm. It is slightly worn on the convex surface of the lower bend.

Scattered throughout the Stark fragment is a peculiar capital *Y*, approximating most closely Isaac's *Y*₇,¹⁹ save that its upswinging tail does not return completely back on itself. I have found this letter only in the work of William Copland. *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, printed by Copland about 1550, uses it throughout. Bishop Fox's *True Differences* uses it in the dedication. In this work, too, occur the *y*₂ common to Copland and the fragment, the capital *M*, diamond *T* and *N*, *H*, *F*, *I*, *v*₃, *B*, and *S*—all peculiar to both. The Copland-Stark *Y* is found again in *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*. In *A Booke of Balettes*, among minor peculiarities may be mentioned approximations of *s*₁, *w*_{5b}, *y*₂, *v*₃, *h*₁, using once more the terminology of Isaac's Keyplate. Isaac has noted as peculiar to Copland's 63 mm. textura, *s*₁, *w*_{5b} and *y*₂. The other letters might be added.

If we total up the significant points of correspondence, then, between the Stark fragment and the work of William Copland, we find that the textura of the fragment was used widely by Copland, that he worked with the same initial *M* and *S*, used an identical pointing hand, employed a large number of less distinctive letters used also in the fragment, and, most important, was alone or nearly alone in using the *Y*₇ variant which is so striking in Stark. He was, too, a popular, literary printer, and we should have no trouble finding *A Booke of Balettes* consonant with the rest of his work.

When, in working through some of the productions of most of the early printers in England, as I have attempted to do, I discovered what looked to be the initial *L* of the recto of the first leaf of the Stark fragment and, much more important, the Copland-Stark *Y*₇ in a publication of Walter Lynne, it seemed at first as if the case for William Copland was somewhat weakened. The work in question, *A Brief Collection of All Such Texts of Scripture As Declare the Happy Estate of Them That Be Visited with Sickness*,²⁰ was printed for Walter Lynne in 1549. Its initial *L*,

¹⁹ I use the terminology of the Keyplate to Colonel Isaac's *English and Scottish Printing Types*. Isaac's Keyplate presents a group of letters that vary in shape and are given numbers to distinguish between them. The Keyplate is given in a photographic reproduction, following page 11.

²⁰ *S.T.C.* 17119.

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found on sigs. D3 and M2, measures .85 x 1 cm. as against .9 x 1.1 cm. in the Stark fragment. The upswinging loop of the unique capital *Y* does not describe so complete a doubling-back in all cases as it does in Stark and in W. Copland's acknowledged work. This may reflect some deterioration or simply improper inking. To return to the initial *L*: that part of the top bar which extends to the right beyond the vertical trunk of the letter has broken through so that the extreme tip no longer articulates with the preceding section of the bar. Poor inking alone should not account for this phenomenon twice repeated: definite deterioration of the initial is indicated. Furthermore, the part of the top bar extending to the left has lost a large part of the convex underside, presenting a scooped-out or concave appearance. We seem to find, then, two important characteristics of the Stark fragment reproduced in the work of a heretofore-unrelated printer, and showing, at least in the case of one of these, a degree of wear over their appearance in Stark. Now Walter Lynne was apparently not a printer at all, but a publisher only.²¹ Various printers were engaged by him, among them, Nicholas Hill, Richard Jugge, John Herford, John Day and William Seres, and possibly Stephen Mierdman and John Cawood.²² It is not hazardous, I think, if we add to this incomplete list William Copland, and credit him with the 1549 *Brief Collection*.

At an uncertain date (1550 has been conjectured), but possibly early in 1549, appeared T. Moulton's *This is the Glass of Health*,²³ with the name of Thomas Petyt in the colophon. In this work, on sig. b4, occurs the initial *S* of the Stark fragment. Measuring 1.2 x 1.2 cm. as against 1.1 x 1.1 cm. in Stark, it is chipped and worn, and is definitely in inferior condition to the Stark initial. Again, on sig. b3^v, is the initial *L* of the Stark fragment, and, as we have seen, of Lynne's *Brief Collection*, measuring .85 x 1.05 cm. as against .9 x 1.1 cm. in Stark. In this initial, the same deterioration in the top left portion of the crossbar, which has gone so far apace in the work published by Lynne, is clearly beginning. Thus we seem to have a definite sequence in the use of the initial *L* in the work of two publishers active in the last year

²¹ See Duff, *Century*, pp. 95 f.; W. Roberts, *Printers' Marks. A Chapter in the History of Typography* (London, 1893), p. 83.

²² Isaac, Appendix.

²³ S.T.C. 18222.

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of the half-century. When we find that Petyt was explicitly connected with William Copland, belief in this sequence, with its implications as to the dating of Stark, is strengthened. Thomas Petyt began printing in the thirties, and, though he remained in business until 1554, only one or two books a year were issued by him toward the end. Some of these were printed by William Copland,²⁴ among them *The Treasure of Poor Men* in 1552 and *The Four Sons of Aymon* in 1554. Copland, moreover, used the same 72 mm. textura as that of *The Glass of Health*. Though I do not think it essential to the Stark identification, I conclude that Copland printed in or about 1549 a work for Thomas Petyt and another for Walter Lynne, in which he used two of the initials he had employed in printing *A Boke of Balettes*. The importance of this hypothesis bulks larger when we realize that it practically establishes the end date of the Stark fragment.

The book in which this fragment survived as end papers is Robinson's translation of the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More.²⁵ It was published but not printed by Abraham Veale in 1551, for Veale, like Petyt in his last years and Walter Lynne, had most of his work done by others. William Copland was not responsible for the 1551 *Utopia*, for the types and initials are those of Richard Jugge and John Cawood.²⁶ It is certain, however, that Copland and Veale were connected in a printer-publisher relationship, and at least two books, each without date, were printed by Copland for Veale. These are *The Book of Hawking* and *The Knight of the Swan*. The eventual binding of the fragment in another work may possibly be connected with the shop to which Copland resorted and in which his work was presumably current, and available as printer's wastage for use as end papers. Not only, then, can a connection be developed between the typographical peculiarities of the Stark fragment and the acknowledged work of William Copland, but these peculiarities, when occurring elsewhere at a significant date, can be related to Copland, too. I feel safe, therefore, in assigning provisionally *A Boke of Balettes* to him. Most bibliographers now believe William to have been the son of the printer Robert Copland, though that view has not al-

²⁴ Isaac, under *William Copland*.

²⁵ *S.T.C.* 18094.

²⁶ Isaac, under *Veale*.

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ways been held.²⁷ Robert Copland's death in 1547/48 coincided with William's first recorded work as printer in his own right.²⁸ William Copland remains important for his printing of much popular English literature that is now highly valued historically. Not the least important of his efforts was *A Booke of Balettes*, printed by him between 1547 and 1549.

The Folger *Court of Venus*, printed in textura type measuring 61 mm., is the only one of the three fragments with a title page. It is consequently somewhat easier to establish the identity of the printer. The only instance known to McKerrow and Ferguson²⁹ of the border which decorates the title page of the Folger fragment is that of *The Castle of Health. Corrected and in Some Places Augmented. By the First Author Thereof, Sir Thomas Elyot, Knight, The Year of our Lord. 1561*,³⁰ a book printed by Thomas Marshe. There is considerable typographical evidence in addition to the title-page border which identifies Marshe as the printer of the Folger fragment. On sig. A3 of the fragment occur three different capital *W*'s, each beginning a line, and each separated by two lines. None are exactly reproduced in Isaac's Keyplate, but they correspond very roughly to his *W*13a, *W*8, and *W*21. These three capitals represent three different fonts of type that have got mixed or been used of necessity in the shop of the printer of the fragment. Another printer might have any one of the fonts, but it would be extraordinary if more than one printer should have this unique combination of *all three fonts*. It is quite safe to assume that if the three fonts mixed are found in some other work of definite attribution, the printer of this work will be the printer of *The Court of Venus*. In *The Book Named the Governor. Designed by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knight*,³¹ entered by Thomas Marshe

²⁷ For the theory that William and Robert were partners, see Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, I, 346, 352; Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry* (London, 1781), III, 74, 313; *Typographical Antiquities*, ed. Thomas Frognall Dibdin (London, 1810), IV, 127.

²⁸ For information on William Copland, see Roberts, p. 68; Duff, *Century*, pp. 32 ff.; John Roche Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. New Series. V. 1554-56 (London, 1892), pp. 247 ff.; Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, I, 352 f.; *D.N.B.* (1887), XII, 174.

²⁹ *Title-Page Borders in England and Scotland 1485-1640* (London, 1932), figure 107.

³⁰ *S.T.C.* 7651.

³¹ *S.T.C.* 7641.

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in 1564 and printed by him in 1565, *all three* capital *W*'s reappear. Textura size of this book is 61 mm. In a work of 61 mm. textura size, *The Court of Virtue: Containing Many Holy Songs, Sonnets, Psalms and Ballets*,³² by Dr. John Hall, entered by Marshe in 1564-1565 and printed by him in 1565, the three capital *W*'s reappear once more. If further evidence is desired, the Folger fragment is distinguished by a peculiar capital *Y*, closely resembling Isaac's *Y3*. It may be seen clearly on sig. *A5^v* of the fragment. This same *Y* is to be found in the 1565 *Governor* and in *The Court of Virtue*. The type of the fragment, furthermore, is the same as that used by Marshe in John Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry. Here Beginneth a New Tract or Treatise Most Profitable for All Husband Men*.³³ This work, undated, is conjectured to have been printed between 1557 and 1560. Thus there is no reason to doubt that Thomas Marshe was in fact the printer of the Folger fragment.³⁴

Examining the evidence, then, I find that Douce was printed by Thomas Gybson, between 1535 and 1539, Stark by William Copland, between 1547 and 1549, and Folger by Thomas Marshe, between 1561 and 1565. Hence the order of the known fragments is (1) Douce, (2) Stark, (3) Folger.

Besides these three, there is evidence of another edition. In the Stationers' Register for July 19, 1557, appears the notice, "*To henry Sutton to prynte this booke Called the Couurte of VENUS and for his lycense he geveth to the howse . . . iiiij^d*."³⁵ Henry Sutton commenced business about 1552, at which date the *Hand-Lists* first mention him.³⁶ Duff says that he printed continuously to 1563. Isaac records his work only through 1558, while Herbert tells us that he bound an apprentice as late as 1571. The edition of *The Court of Venus* which Sutton was licensed to print in 1557 has never been discovered. The date of Sutton's entry places his hypothetical edition between Stark and Folger, making the series in order: (1) Douce, (2) Stark, (3) Sutton, (4) Folger.

³² *S.T.C.* 12632.

³³ *S.T.C.* 11001; 61 mm. textura.

³⁴ For information on Thomas Marshe, see Duff, *Century*, p. 100; Stowe's *Survey of London*, ed. Strype (London, 1720), p. 222.

³⁵ Ed. Edward Arber (1875-1894), I, 78.

³⁶ For information on Henry Sutton, see *Typographical Antiquities*, II, 843; Duff, *Century*, p. 154.

2. The Dates

Determining the printers of *The Court of Venus* has given us a range of dates for each of the three fragments. In this section, I will try to confirm the range, and to narrow it further by examining nontypographical evidence. The first mention of a *Court of Venus* occurs in John Bale's *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum*, a catalogue of British writers first published in 1548. In this work, on sig. 3D2^r, Bale lists under Chaucer's name *De curia Veneris* and gives the first line: "In Maio cum virescerent, &." On sig. 2D2^r he also assigns to Chaucer a work entitled *Narrationes diuersorum*, and transcribes the first line: "In comitatu Lyncolniensi." The first line of the first work, when translated, is evidently the same as the first line of the Prologue to the Folger fragment of *The Court of Venus*: "In the moneth of may when the new tender grene." The first line of the *Narrationes diuersorum* is a version of the first line of *The Pilgrim's Tale*, found only in the Douce fragment, and beginning, "In lincolneshyr fast by the fene."

John Bale, born November 21, 1495, gained the protection of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and became in 1552 Bishop of Ossory. In 1540, on the fall of his protector Cromwell, Bale fled to Germany.³⁷ The accession of Edward VI in 1547 brought Bale back to England, and led to the publication, on July 31, 1548, at Ipswich, of the first edition of the *Scriptores*. Bale must have done the greatest part of his labor on this lengthy volume before 1540, when he was in England and had access to the university libraries and other necessary sources. Hence it is probable that a *Court of Venus* was in print before 1540. There is a possibility, however, that Bale had seen only the manuscript of the work, and that it was not actually in print before 1540, or indeed, even by 1548, when Bale's first notice of it appeared. At this point, the importance of identifying the printer of the first fragment becomes evident. Thomas Gybson, who has been shown to have printed this fragment, worked only from 1535 to 1539. We may therefore

³⁷ Poole, p. xviii.

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be certain that John Bale's reference, in 1548, is to a work that had actually appeared before 1539. Since the Folger fragment, in which the Prologue quoted by Bale alone survives, has been shown to be the work of Thomas Marshe, and since Marshe did not begin printing until the fifties, we must conclude that the Prologue had been in print before it appeared in the Folger fragment. Indeed, it is likely that the Prologue was originally a part of the Douce fragment, printed by Gybson and quoted by Bale.

On the verso of sig. E1, the narrator of the *Tale* describes how he had set out upon a pilgrimage toward Walsingham (l. 23). Now in 1538 the famous shrine at Walsingham was destroyed by Henry VIII. Unless we are confronted in *The Pilgrim's Tale* with an historical fiction like *Jack Wilton*—and this would seem improbable—the reference to Walsingham doubtless antedates the destruction of the shrine. Thus we may say that composition of the *Tale* preceded the year 1538. The actual printing, however, may have occurred as late as 1539, but no later.

We have, therefore, the end date of 1539. Waiving for the moment the fact that Gybson first printed, to our knowledge, in 1535, let us try to establish by other means the earliest date at which a *Court*, made up at least in part of the works which Bale mentions, could have appeared. Thomas Tyrwhitt, examining the *Pilgrim's Tale* as it is found in the Douce fragment, gives us our first clue. On folio xlv he discovers an allusion to "the romant of the rose," in which the narrator is directed to turn to "the thred leafe Just from the end to the secund page." Tyrwhitt comments: "It is not usual, at least, to cite Mss. by *the leaf* and *the page*. But if this citation was really made from a printed book, the Pilgrim's tale must have been written after Mr. Thynne's edition, for Chaucer's translation of the Romant of the Rose was first printed in that edition."³⁸ Tyrwhitt refers to the 1532 edition of William Thynne, the first edition of Chaucer in which the *Romaunt* appeared.³⁹ On the recto and verso of sig. F7, *The Pilgrim's Tale* narrator describes the passage in the *Romaunt* to which he has been directed. It holds "mater plenty ynoghe/ saue only vnder the coler of the wolfe / is conferyd al the stinking fuet." He

³⁸ *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, ed. Thomas Tyrwhitt (London, 1775), I, xvi.

³⁹ E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1908), p. 450.

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relates how he has been told to read six lines "whiche be chaucers awn hand wark" and which are then given. T. R. Lounsbury, availing himself, as Tyrwhitt did not, of the opportunity afforded by these explicit references, checked them against the Thynne edition. "This reference to page and leaf proves what volume it was the author of the 'Pilgrim's Tale' had in mind. It was the edition of Chaucer's works printed in 1532. In that edition, on the third leaf from the end of the 'Romaunt of the Rose,' and on its second page, are contained all the matters to which attention is directed." Lounsbury concludes: "There is the place in which the wolf is mentioned. There are to be found the six quoted lines."⁴⁰ It follows that *The Pilgrim's Tale* cannot have been printed before 1532.

On the verso of sig. F3, the author celebrates the fulfilment of God's prophecy "in owr tyme" (ll. 2-5). If, as seems probable, his rejoicing is attendant on the break with Rome, the *Tale* must be dated no earlier than 1534, for it was in that year that a series of acts abolished papal authority in England.

We are enabled, however, to push forward the date of printing even further, again with Tyrwhitt's help. On folios xxxix and xl of *The Pilgrim's Tale* are the lines: "Perkyn werkek and Jek straw./ and now of lat owr cobler the dawe." Tyrwhitt comments: "One would not expect to find any mention of *Perkin Warbeck* in a work attributed to Chaucer; but, passing that over, I think it is plain, that *our cobler*, in the second line, means the leader of the Lincolnshire rebels in 1536, who, as Holinshed tells us, p. 941. 'called himself *Captaine Cobler*, but was indeed a monk, named Doctor Mackarell.' *The Pilgrim's Tale* therefore was not written till after 1536."⁴¹

In 1598, however, Francis Thynne, son of William, claimed that his father had intended to publish *The Pilgrim's Tale* in his first edition of Chaucer, but had been prevented from doing so by Cardinal Wolsey. In this first edition, Francis said:

Beinge printed but with one coolume in a syde, there was the pilgrymes tale, a thinge moore odious to the clergie, then the speche of the plowmanne; that pilgrimes tale begynnyng in this sorte:

⁴⁰ Thomas Raynesford Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer, His Life and Writings* (New York, 1892), I, 464 f.

⁴¹ Tyrwhitt, I, xvii.

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'In Lincolneshyre fast by a fenne,
Standes a relligious howse who doth;
yt kenne,' &c.

In this tale did Chaucer most bitterlye enveye against the pride, state, couetousnes, and extorcione of the Bysshopes, their officialls, Archdeacons, vicars generalls, comissaryes, and other officers of the spirituall courts. The Invention and order whereof (as I haue herde yt related by some, nowe of good worshippe bothe in courte and cuntrye, but then my fathers clerkes,) was, that one comynge into this relligious howse, walked vppe and downe the churche, beholdinge goodlye pictures of Bysshopes in the windowes, at lengthe the manne contynuyng in that contemplatione, not knowinge what Bishoppes they were, a graue olde manne withe a longe white hedde and berde, in a large blacke garment girded vnto hym, came forthe and asked hym, what he iudged of those pictures in the windowes, who sayed he knewe not what to make of them, but that they looked lyke vnto oure mitred Bishoppes; to whome the old father replied, 'yt is true, they are lyke, but not the same, for oure byshoppes are farr degenerate from them,' and withe that, made a large discourse of the Bishoppes and of their courtes.

This tale, when kinge henrye the eighte had redde, he called my father vnto hym, sayinge, 'William Thynne! I dobte this will not be allowed; for I suspecte the Bysshopes will call the in questione for yt.' to whome my father, beinge in great fauore with his prince, (as many yet lyvinge canne testyfy,) sayed, 'yf your grace be not offended, I hoope to be protected by you.' wherevppon the kinge bydd hym goo his waye, and feare not. All which not withstandinge, my father was called into questione by the Bysshopes, and heaued at by cardinall Wolseye, his olde enmye, for manye causes, but mostly for that my father had furthered Skelton to publishe his 'Collen Cloute' againste the Cardinall, the moste parte of whiche Booke was compiled in my fathers howse at Erithe in Kente. But for all my fathers frendes, the Cardinalls persuadinge auctorytye was so greate withe the kinge, that though by the kinges fauor my father escaped bodelye daunger, yet the Cardinall caused the kinge so muche to myslyke of that tale, that chaucer must be newe printed, and that discourse of the pilgrymes tale lefte oute; and so beinge printed agayne, some thynges were forsed to be omitted, and the plowmans tale (supposed, but vntrulye, to be made by olde Sir Thomas Wyat, father to hym which was executed in the firste yere of Quene Marye, and not by Chaucer) withe muche ado permitted to passe with the reste.⁴²

⁴² *Animaduersions vppon the Annotations and Corrections of some imperfections of impressions of Chaucers workes 1598*, by Francis Thynne, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Chaucer Society (London, 1876), pp. 7-10.

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Two things strike us at once about this story. First, that "the Cardinalls persuadinge auctorytye was so greate withe the kinge." Surely we must put the time of Wolsey's authority a good while before October, 1529, when he was impeached and forced to surrender the lord chancellor's seals. We must put it back even further, before the beginning of Henry's enmity toward the cardinal, growing out of Wolsey's failure to convert the pope to the long-protracted divorce of Queen Catherine. We are forced to assume, if we accept Francis Thynne's story verbatim, that William Thynne had actually printed an edition of Chaucer in 1529, at the very latest, that part of it was deleted, and that three years at least went by before Chaucer was "newe printed." We must assume, furthermore, that the allusion to the Lincolnshire rebellion of 1536 in the Douce version of *The Pilgrim's Tale* is an interpolation, that the Douce version is not the first, but that *The Pilgrim's Tale* was actually written and printed (though not published) in the twenties. Our credulity is strained by such a train of assumptions.

We are struck, too, by Francis Thynne's statement that "the plowmans tale [was] . . . withe mucche ado permitted to passe with the reste," when William Thynne finally came to publish his held-up edition in 1532. Now *The Plowman's Tale*, like *The Pilgrim's Tale* a part of the sixteenth-century Chaucerian apocrypha, does not appear in the 1532 edition. *The Plowman's Tale* is included in Thynne's edition of 1542. Did Francis Thynne, who was an infant when his father died in 1546, and who got his story at second hand, confuse the two editions, writing 1532 when he should have written 1542? Perhaps *The Plowman's Tale* was deleted from Thynne's first edition at the insistence of the cardinal. Henry Bradshaw mentions "a separate edition of *The Plowman's Tale*, the same type and size as Thynne's first edition of 1532, which looks as if he had intended to include it in that, and was overborne for some reason."⁴³ This separate edition was printed by Thomas Godfray, the printer of the 1532 Chaucer. It is without date, but appeared probably between 1532 and 1535, and perhaps was done under the care of William Thynne. Bradshaw says: "Why it was omitted from the edition of 1532 does not appear, unless F. Thynne's report of his father having been compelled to

⁴³ *Animaduersions*, p. xlii n.

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omit the *Pilgrim's Tale* from his first edition be a mistake, based on the fact that the *Plowmans Tale* was omitted from that edition for some such reason as is alleged, though printed separately at the same press. From this separate edition . . . it was reprinted in W. Thynne's second edition of Chaucer's works in 1542, and separately in octavo by W. Powell, about 1547-8."⁴⁴ Furnivall, noting that the double-columned 1532 edition shows a cancel or insertion after folio cc.xix, comments, "it looks as if Wm. Thynne had meant to put something else between the *Troylus* and *Legende*, and then had filled up the space with the spurious *Testamente of Creseyde*."⁴⁵ Lounsbury, assuming the substantial truth of Francis Thynne's story, and believing him guilty only of confusion, infers that *The Plowman's Tale* was in fact the objectionable matter which was dropped from the first edition, and which made for the cancel which the collation reveals.⁴⁶ But Professor W. A. Jackson, in the most recent collation of the 1532 edition, writes:

The insertion of Henryson's *The Testament of Creseyde* was apparently a last minute alteration. Originally Sig Qq3 had on the recto the end of the fifth Boke of *Troylus* and the title, in compartment, of *The Legende of Good Women*; the verso was blank. The quire then contained only six leaves, Sig Qq4-[6] were occupied by the text of *The legende*. When it was decided to insert *The testament*, Sig Qq3 was cancelled and inserted in its place were two sheets (the first two leaves of which were signed 'Qq3-4'—the first leaf numbered with the folio of the cancellandum). These inserted sheets contain a reprinting of the end of *Troylus*, the text of *The testament*, and the title (without a compartment) of *The legende*.⁴⁷

Thus we are left with no way of rationalizing Francis Thynne's story in terms of the 1532 Chaucer.

Possibly, William Thynne had "newe printed" Chaucer in the late twenties, hard on his trouble with Wolsey. F. S. Ellis, the antiquarian bookseller and member of the publishing firm of Ellis and White, and W. C. Hazlitt told Furnivall that they had seen "at Sotheby's sale-rooms at 13 Wellington St., W. C., within the

⁴⁴ *Animaduersions*, p. 101 n.

⁴⁵ P. xlii.

⁴⁶ *Studies*, I, 468.

⁴⁷ *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library Catalog—English Literature 1475-1700* (New York, 1940), I, 173.

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last 2 or 3 years [before 1876], a 2-column folio of Chaucer's Works that had its wanting leaves supplied from some one-column edition."⁴⁸ This one-column edition does not survive. Until and unless it is discovered, we have no choice but to regard Francis Thynne's story as the confused "flam" Bradshaw thought it, and to spend our energies more profitably in attempting to discover how his confusion arose. Furnivall, it is true, thought "the words and run of the lines" of *The Pilgrim's Tale* "before 1536-40."⁴⁹ If Furnivall is correct, and it may well be that he is, there is still the possibility that the author of the *Tale* deliberately archaized, and certainly used provincialisms, in an attempt to give a Chaucerian flavor to his poem and so to sneak it past the censors, from whose strictures Chaucer was specifically exempted.⁵⁰ Furnivall thought, too, that the careless printing of the Douce *Pilgrim's Tale* showed it to be a reprint,⁵¹ and he cited this "fact" in support of Francis Thynne's story. But while the Douce *Tale* misprints words, drops lines, and generally represents a sloppy job of printing, I do not think that it is necessarily a reprint. Sir E. K. Chambers, analyzing Furnivall's belief, likewise does not find the evidence at all conclusive.⁵² Actually, there is no real utility in assuming (1) that a reputed edition of Chaucer in the 1520's, of which we have no knowledge, existed, (2) that it contained, at first, a *Pilgrim's Tale*, and that therefore the allusion to the Lincolnshire rising was interpolated in the *Tale* we know, and (3) that *The Romaunt of the Rose*, contrary to unanimous scholarly opinion, was in print before 1532. We must further assume that the hypothetical edition of the *Romaunt* was set up in exactly the same manner as the 1532 edition, if we are to account for the precise reference in the Douce *Tale* to the printed *Romaunt*. Indeed, there would have to have been still an earlier printed *Romaunt* than that of the hypothetical edition, identical in pagination with the 1532 version, for the reference in the *Tale* postulates a printed poem before it in time. Our only other alternative is to believe that the allusion to the *Romaunt* was interpolated in the Douce *Pilgrim's Tale*! I think that we should be loath to make so many hazardous assumptions simply to retain in *all* its

⁴⁸ *Animaduersions*, p. xliii.

⁵⁰ P. xiv.

⁵² *Wyatt*, p. 118.

⁴⁹ P. xliii.

⁵¹ P. xlvi n.

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particulars the story of a man who never saw the one-column edition of which he wrote.

It seems to me much more likely that Francis Thynne referred to clerical interference with his father's *second* edition, which was in preparation in the late thirties. Cardinal Wolsey, having died in 1530, could no longer be concerned, but it is possible that Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, or Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, both famous as Papists under Mary, might have taken a hand in excising *The Pilgrim's Tale*. One feels strongly that this was actually the case when one recalls that though *The Pilgrim's Tale* was "forsed to be omitted . . . the plowmans tale . . . withe mucche ado [was] permitted to passe with the reste." For *The Plowman's Tale* does occur in the 1542 edition, following *The Parson's Tale*.

We have narrowed the time in which *The Pilgrim's Tale* was printed, then, to the four years between 1536 and 1540, when John Bale fled England, carrying with him the manuscripts out of which the *Scriptores* evolved. And now we can narrow this interval still further by recalling that Thomas Gybson, the printer of the Douce fragment, had ceased printing by 1539. From his press we have a *Pilgrim's Tale* that breaks off before the end and two poems, one fragmentary, that probably concluded a collection of verses. We know, too, that this collection carried the running title, *The court of Venus*. There is no longer any reason for keeping the Douce fragment and the Bale reference apart. We know that sometime between 1536 and 1539 Thomas Gybson published a book made up of at least two parts: the first, entitled *The court of Venus*, probably began, "In the moneth of may when the new tender grene." We can be just about certain that this was so, for we know that a *Court*, beginning with these very words, did appear at this time. Moreover, it has been pointed out that "Strictures against the clergy [in the *Court* Prologue, the beginning of which Bale gives] show the same spirit that appears in the 'Pilgrim's Tale' and connect the two fragments in thought."⁵³ And Sir E. K. Chambers says of Bale: "It seems possible that he had seen or heard of the two pieces, in manuscript or print, together."⁵⁴ Finally, should we still doubt that Gybson's book contained the Prologue to which Bale's catalogue alludes, it is on *Gybson's au-*

⁵³ C. C. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Industry* (London, 1916), p. 314.

⁵⁴ *Wyatt*, p. 114.

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thority that Bale later tells us who wrote the *Curiam Veneris*.⁵⁵ It is justifiable, then, to join Bale's title and first line with the fragmentary work of the same title in which the first line is missing. The second part of Gybson's book was called *The pylgrymse tale*, and its first line is also given by Bale. Let us recall here, however, that Bale's title was *Narrationes diuersorum*. Perhaps Bale was guilty of nothing more than an erroneous attempt to describe the second part of Gybson's book. Assuming that Bale did not read the work, he may have thought it a collection of stories similar to *The Canterbury Tales*, and hence may have given the title *Narrationes diuersorum*. Or perhaps Gybson's book actually did contain a number of stories, of which *The Pilgrim's Tale* was only the first.

And now, may we credit Francis Thynne's story in any way, even after our modification of its details to fit the known facts? I think we may, if we bear in mind that Gybson's printing of *The Court of Venus* and *The Pilgrim's Tale* was concurrent with William Thynne's work on the contemplated second edition of Chaucer. It is logical to assume that Gybson's book bore Chaucer's name on the title page; why else would Bale have put the contents among Chaucer's works? If this assumption is true, it might follow that the anti-Romanist William Thynne was desirous of including the *Tale* in his second edition, took steps to do so, but was prevented by the clergy. It is important to remember that the Thynne editions of 1532 and 1542 were in double columns, and that the only single-column "Chaucer" known is the apocryphal *Pilgrim's Tale*, which is probably the work of which Francis Thynne had some confused and secondhand intelligence. Finally, since *The Pilgrim's Tale* alludes to the Lincolnshire rebellion of 1536, and since this uprising did not begin until October, I do not think it likely that a fairly long poem would have been written, printed, and published in a good-sized book before the year was out. It is possible that Gybson's book appeared in 1536, but it seems to me safer to exclude that year, and to narrow the time of the printing of the Douce fragment still further, to the years 1537-1539.

If the identification of William Copland as the printer of the Stark fragment, *A Boke of Balettes*, is accepted, it is relatively easy

⁵⁵ Poole, p. 389.

S before U Submytte.

Eph. 5 **d** Submytte youre selues one to an other in the feare of God.

1. pe. 2 **c** Submytt youre selfe to all maner ordinarie of man for the Lordes sake.

L **L**oke moze in humble.

Mat. 5 **c** Thou shalt not sweare.

23 **b** Whosoever sweareth by the temple. **ac**

26 **g** When began he to curse and to sweare that he neuer knewe hym. **Mar. 14. g**

Lu. 1 **g** Which he dyd sweare to Abraham.

Heb. 6 **c** He dyd sweare by hym self.

Act. 2 **c** And knewe that God had sworne wyth another. **ac**

Apo. 10 **b** And swore by hym that Iyueth euer moze.

Swerde.

Mat. 10 **d** I came not to sende peace but a swerde.

26 **c** Peter drewe oute his swerde and smote of malchias eare

Mt **All** that laye hāde of the swerde shall perishe wyth the swerde.

Lu. 22 **e** Shall we smyte wyth swerde?

Mt **Let** hym that hath no swerde sell his cote by a swerde.

Ro. 13 **a** The ruler bereth not a swerde for nought.

The parable of the
 shall at his Godly pleasure, lose thy mem-
 ber. For that hath not the spirit, hath no
 strength, neither lusteth of length after
 power to fulfill the lawe, neither abhor-
 reth the pleasures of synne, neither hath
 any man more certayne of the p[ro]mises
 of God, than I haue of a tale of Robin
 hode, or of some trest that a mā telteth me
 was done at Rome. Another man maye
 lightly make me doubt of beleue the con-
 trary, being I haue no experience therof
 in my selfe. So is it of them that feele not
 the working of the spirit, and therfore in
 time of temptation the byblynges of their
 p[ro]mises fall.

Matth. x. He that receyuech a pro-
 phete in the name of a prophete,
 that is because he is a prophete
 shall receyue the rewardes of a
 prophete, and he that geueth one of these
 litle things a cuppe of colde water to drynke
 in the name of a dysciple, shall not lose his
 reward. For as this, that a prophete sing-
 eth, as well hym that interpreteth the
 hard place of scripture, as hym that pro-
 phit es rainges to come. For he that re-
 ceueth a prophete, a iust man, or a dysc-
 ple, shall haue the same or lyke reward
 that is to saye, that hath the same eternal
 lyfe, whiche is appointed for the in Chri-
 stes blinde and mycetes. For except thou
 worre cleue to the same eternal lyfe, and
 hauest the same sayth and trust in God,
 and

The initial *M* of the Stark fragment as it appears in
The Parable of the Wicked Mammon

of Balettes

M

Ypene take paynt a
So folowe the thing
And hold my harte in
And when thou hast
My pen, I pray the write no

Remember thou hast oft ple
And my sorowes also eased
But now unknown I kner
That where I trust I am de
And yet my pen thou can't a noze

I thinke thou haddest as other
To write which way my h
That time is past wishd
Wens we do life let other
As good leaus of, and wze

to worke an o
for is my
And my besyze in my decay

To leut in bayle who so lue
Of worship payne it passeth all
As in lyke case I had wherfore
As hold so fast and yet to fall
Dink my pen now write no more

When thou hast taken paynt this space
As for what touch with the chafe
And I am in howe my best so fore
Now thou hast this becom to

The initial M of the Stark fragment, and the peculiar capital Y

and sprinkled vpon the burning hea-
leth the same quickly and caueth þ
heate to growe.

¶ To draw out any thyng
fryed in the body.

¶ As for the causes of this cha-
piter 3 of the cell vnto the end of the
boke, because that ether they be ma-
nyfest, or els before touched, I wyl
wryte nothinge at al.

Remedies. Capl. Ichiti.

¶ Part.

Siberne wood a freshe grece
of there owne propertye do
drawe oute spijges, thornes,
and other thinges þ faste in þ bodi.
Holewoxe stamp and applied is
of the same operacion.

The same operacion hath the sede
of roket.

¶ Remedies.

Holewodes plasterd vpon the
grece draweth oute þ stickes and Fe-
ron that be fastenid in the Vellie.

¶ Part.

Of the same operacion is the loyce
of Dytanye myngled wyth Hole
downg

The initial S of the Stark fragment, as it appears in
The Treasury of Health

In your loue, I be content
To be out that shall not
For you haue o' harte no
Charge of my thow

wherfore I pray you forget not
But that I am well contente.
To lone whom ye lyst and sparr not
For I am indifferent

finis

Shall he neuer out of my mynde
Nor shall I neuer out of this payre
Alas her loue doth me so blinde
Except her helpe I am now layre.

I neuer told her of my mynde
That payne I suffer for her sake
Whas what means might I now finde
That no displeasur with me take.

Yf I speake fayre she sayth I flatter
And if I do not I shall not speede
Yf I to her to wyte a letter
Then wyll she say she can not rede

Shall I despayre yet for all this
Nay nay my hart wyll not do so
I wold ouer my sweete hart kys
Thousand times to bynd my wo.

I am abashed when I chuld speake
Alas I can not my mind expresse
Yf maketh my hart in peeces breake
To see her lousing gentelnes finis

The initial S of the Stark fragment, and the peculiar capital Y

Drive out of this Realme the wronge vsurper of hys
power and auctoryte Regall, and deliuered his people
fro the captiuyte, wherin the Bishops of Rome hadde
longe tyme kept them. Yet lyke as the temple of God
in Hierusalem, was begun by Dauid, and tynned by
Salomō: So many kindes of Superficiō wer abolished by
the sayd good kynge and no fewer left to be reformed
by hys gracypous and most lauful sonne oure new soue-
raygne lord kynge Edward the fyrst. By whose happy
and blyssyd procedynge hitherto it is euident to the
world that god is his guyd directynge his passage to the
perfectyon of al vertue and godlynes. A notable expe-
ryment wherof we haue, by the holson and holy lawes
that procede from his grace in thys hys mynoryte and
chyldehed, to the aduancement of Goddes worde, and
exypparion of al hypocepsy, and fals religyon. For the
whych benefyte howmoche the realme of Englande is
bounden to hys magesty, my pen can not suffycently
set it furth. But thys must al men confesse, that as long
as the memozy therof shal remayne, so long shal the ho-
norable fame and prayles of hys grace be fresh and
grene in al true Englyshmens hartes. Whych I speke
not so moche for the syngular benefytes by your grace
extendyd too me preuayle, as for the greate wealthe and
commodytes redoundynge to al men vniuersally. Wher-
fore deuplynge wyth my selfe in what wyse I myghte
thowe my selfe thankful, or at the least not vniyndfull
of so ample mercyes me thought I could do nothyng, ey-
ther more gratefull to your grace, or more profytable to
my countree than to helpe forwarde in this cause of rely-
gyon. And seing the manyfold errour and confusyd here-
tofore sydyna in this Realme by reason that the true
dyfference betwene the power real ecclesiastycal was
eyther not wel knownen or not wel despynd. I bethought
me of a hoke lent me by my frend master Spoulsen wyth
in the luten tongue, wherin the dyfference of these two
powers, with þe symbles of eyther of them is so playnly
set

The Stark Y, as it appears in Fox's *True Differences* (line 4)



Fig 1. KEYPLATE TO VARIANT FORMS OF h, s, v, w, y.

English and Scottish Printing Types, Colonel F. S. Isaac



THE CASTLE OF HEALTH
A Treatise of the Cure of the Venereal Disease
By Thomas Sydenham, M.D.
LONDON: Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Castle, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1663.



THE COURTE OF VENUS
A Treatise of the Cure of the Venereal Disease
By Thomas Sydenham, M.D.
LONDON: Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Castle, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1663.

Title pages of *The Castle of Health* and *The Court of Venus*

And after that I should know the matter thozow

The whole fashion of every thing
 He would me send thertoze we must be gone
 Of matters determined, as well as of the meeting
 But I besought him, oz ever I were alone
 That of Venus court he would interpret the fashion
 Some thing to make but he would not consent
 Tyl it were concluded by the parliament.

But thus farre he sayd he durst report
 That loue without charitie, should be put downe
 Noz perjured persons, should no more resort
 Unto the court of Venus doth frozne
 → When the religion hath them bozne
 And to Diana them selfe hath also sworne
 And yet through peccates in hir court be bozne.

→ Whom the Poets cal the gods of courtly
 That now is in so great dyspleasure
 And like to be expelled for his baudy
 → Whych hath done mischief out of measure
 I prophesie is sayd for as his treasure
 That he spedeth as wel as the false foxe
 As that in armes, had many a bloody bore.

And Venus intendeth Diana to compel
 For to suppozte vnder the colour of chastitie
 No more in asking, but to expel
 Out of her retynew inconueniently
 For whose suppozting she is had in ielousye
 And thus he went and bad me farewell
 And at another tyme he would me more tel,
 And therfoze I must (my reader) treat
 I.iii.

The Prologue.

Affores the twynnes when Phobus bright,
Fayre Cithera, and Ioue benigne,
Last ouer went by his course ryght,
That he with them had conioynage
Commodiously mitigating,
Both Mars and Saturns malice greete,
Whiche in the Crabbe but lately mette.

Lyke wyse Lucretia, then hir decte,
With eche planet diligently,
Hir selfe to ioyne with lyke aspecte,
Begynnyng first with Mercury:
To Iupiter consequently,
With Sol and Cithera in haste,
With Saturne then, and Mars at laste,

Almightie God that all hath wroughte,
Thus through their course mooste naturall,
Within thzee signes together brought,
These sterres that creatyres men call
In these thzee were these planets all,
The Crab, the Twyns the horned Bull,
O! wonders thus his woorkes are fall.

At this tyme as for my solase,
To banyshe pensyue heuynesse:
I went abroad the tyme to passe,
When thought my soule did soze oppresse:
Calling my muses to io relese,
My soule, whiche dyd in sozowe sinarte,
Who aye were wonde to ease my harte.

The Muses nyne I meane whiche teache,
And Chyisten poets illuminate,

Whethes

A

The Dedicatorie Epistle.

In learned Sermons preached here,
In good kyng Edwardes tyme:
Wherin ye taught religion true,
Wyth blamyng synne and cryme.

Ye bled there, the net of grace,
And playde good Peters part,
And on the ryght syde cast it foolishly,
In true and perfect rate.

In suche wyse haue you done your part,
Setting apart all feare:
That vertues God hath caused you,
Wile in hys Church to beare.

Both truthe to teache and to correct,
Wyth condigne punishment:
Alsuche as to resyst the truthe,
Whos mayntayne eyes are bent.

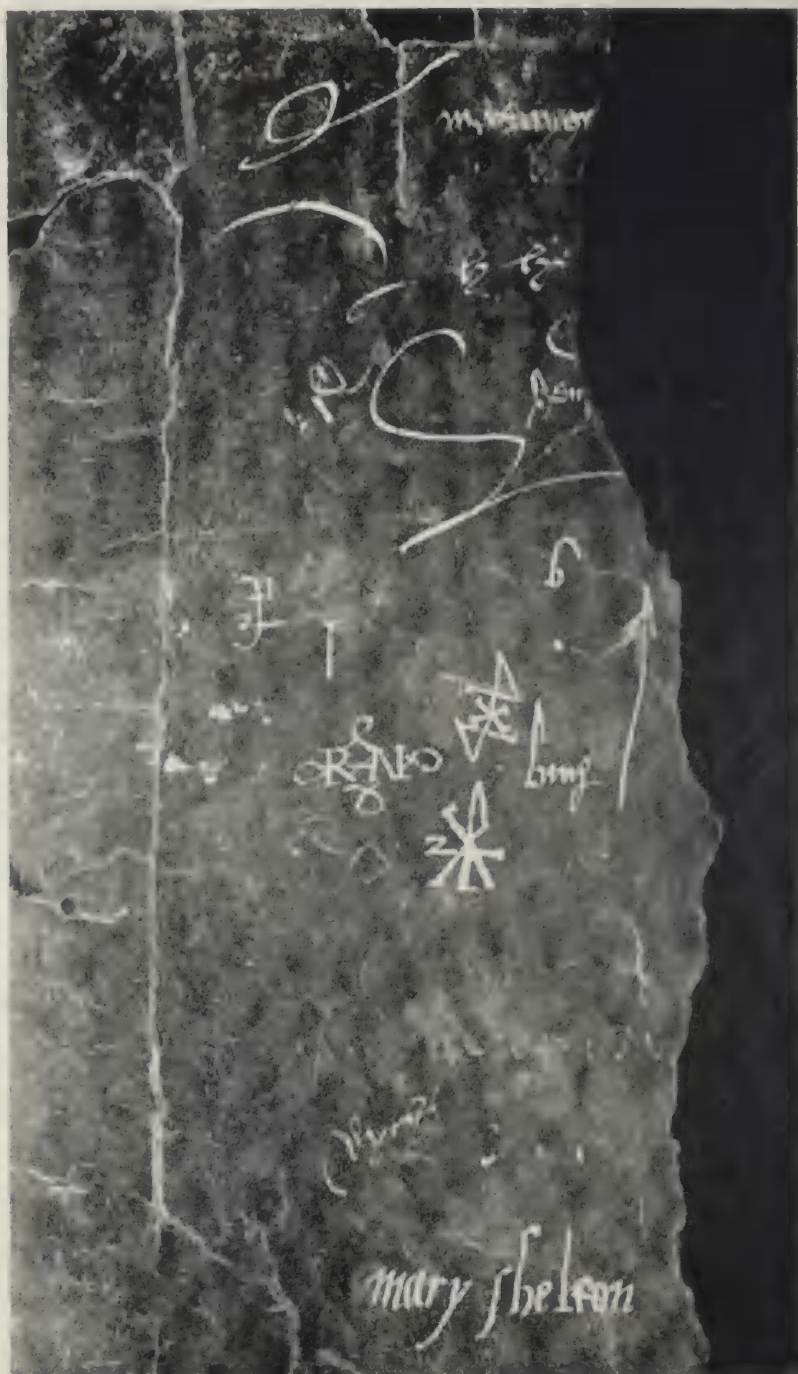
For whych theternall God be prayde,
Who only hath you made,
And chosn you to worke hys wyl,
In thys moste godly trade.

And I beseeche hys maicstie,
That from dame vertues tyme,
Nor from hys pure and perfect giftes
Ye neuer doo decayne.

But that the enemies of the truth,
As in tymes past may syl
Constrayned be to payle your lyfe,
Though soze agaynst theyr wyl.

Had noise agayne unto my late,
And moste humble request,
That hys grace gyfte in good part to take
And iudge thereof the beste.

Ycct



Fragment of the flyleaf, Devonshire MS

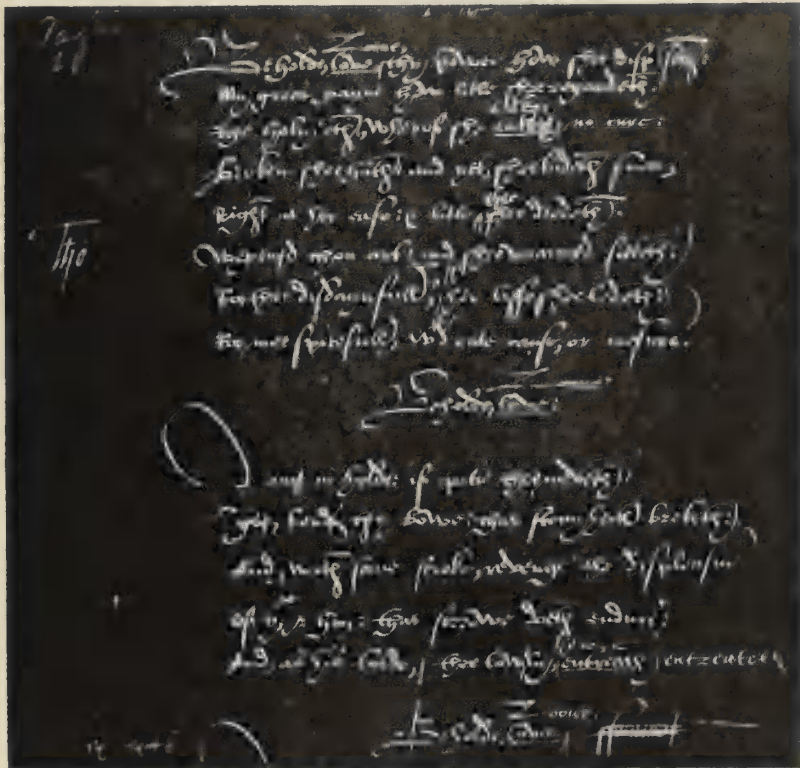
And wouldest thou love me that
I can never see thee again
to have thee from me
of all my griefs & pain
And wouldest thou love me that
I can never see thee again

111
156

And wouldest thou love me that
I get thee from me
in which I am
I get thee from me
as for to love me that
I can never see thee again

And wouldest thou love me that
I get thee from me
never for to see thee
never for to see thee
And wouldest thou love me that
I can never see thee again

And wouldest thou love me that
I have none of thee
of I get thee from me
I get thee from me
I get thee from me
I get thee from me
I get thee from me
I get thee from me



Facsimile of the first poem in the Egerton MS

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to establish the date at which the *Boke* appeared. The old belief that William and Robert Copland were partners, perhaps brothers, and that they had printed before 1530 has long since been destroyed. It is highly probable, moreover, that William Copland did not begin to print before 1547, the year in which one first discovers his name in a colophon. Yet even if Thomas Warton's old claim that the Coplands were active very early were to be resurrected, it would still be possible to show that the Stark fragment postdates 1547. Robert Copland, who was dependent on Wynkyn De Worde, ceased printing in 1535, the year of De Worde's death. He did no further work for twelve years, and then recommenced printing, only to die almost at once, and to leave his shop to William. Now if we believe that William was Robert's silent partner from the beginning, and used his own name only after Robert's death, we are still compelled to put the Stark fragment, printed with William's type, either before 1535 or after 1547. But it is quite unlikely that all the poems in the fragment were even written before 1535.⁵⁶ Furthermore, no book with Robert Copland's imprint that is printed with type at all like that used in the Stark fragment survives from the early period. And of course we have nothing printed explicitly by William Copland before 1547. It is safe, then, to set 1547 as the earliest date at which *A Boke of Balettes* could have appeared.

The latest date to which we can assign the fragment is fixed for us by typographical evidence. In 1549 William Copland used the initial *M* of the Stark fragment in *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*. The initial looks to be in approximately the same condition in one work as in the other. But in 1550 we find the initial *S* of the Stark fragment, somewhat battered since its appearance in *A Boke of Balettes*, in *The Treasury of Health*, printed by Copland. Perhaps the seeming deterioration of the initial is due simply to poor inking. But in Copland's 1550 printing of *Sir Degore*, the initial *S* has definitely deteriorated. The 1549 or 1550 *Glass of Health*, printed, I believe, by William Copland, gives the Stark *S* and *L* in a condition inferior to their appearance in the fragment. When we discover the initial *L* again, in the 1549 *Brief Collection*, published by Lynne, and assignable, I think, to Cop-

⁵⁶ *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat*, ed. A. K. Foxwell (London, 1913), I, 389-394.

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land, we are able to narrow the date of the Stark printing to the years 1547-1549.

It is probable that John Bale's notice of *The Court of Venus* and *The Pilgrim's Tale* in 1548 refers to the Douce fragment, printed by Gybson between 1537 and 1539. But what of John Hall's angry attack on the *Court* in the 1550 *Certain Chapters of the Proverbs Translated into Meter*? Is it likely that Hall was looking back more than a decade to that early *Court*, a work which could not have survived its publication very long because of the obnoxious *Pilgrim's Tale*? Does it not seem probable that the reformer Hall and the fiercely Protestant Thomas Becon, who followed later with his own attack, would have greeted Gybson's book, had they seen it, with mixed emotions? How could they have lashed so savagely a book which, for all its "frivolous" verse, contained an attack on the Romish clergy that would have delighted them thoroughly? Furnivall, too, doubted that Becon referred to the Douce *Court*, and conjectured that "an earlier edition of the *Court* may not have contained *The Pilgrims Tale*."⁵⁷ Such an edition would have been fair game for the Protestant reformers, but Furnivall hardly helps us if we are forced to go behind 1537 to find it. If there was another *Court*, lacking *The Pilgrim's Tale*, it is more likely to have been later than Gybson's book. We know that John Hall's *Court of Virtue*, published in 1565 and moralizing some of the poems in *The Court of Venus*, was written at least in part about the time of the 1550 *Proverbs*, for Hall dates one of the ditties in his "antidote" by claiming to have written it at the time of the sweating sickness in 1551-1552. Thus it is probable that not all of Hall's animus in *The Court of Virtue* was directed against Thomas Marshe's *Court of Venus*, but was concentrated as well on an earlier *Court*. Furthermore, there is an attack on *The Court of Venus* in the 1557 *Dial of Princes*, in Mary's reign, and I cannot help wondering how the early *Court*, with its anti-Catholic *Pilgrim's Tale*, could have survived into the Marian terror to attract attention twenty years after its publication. Finally, in Hall's 1549 edition of the *Proverbs*, there is no mention of *The Court of Venus*; the first attack occurs in the edition of 1550. Shall we assume that Hall discovered the old *Court* in the intervening year? He is incensed in

⁵⁷ *Animaduersions*, p. xlvi.

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1550 at the apparent popularity of a *Court*: did it suddenly become popular after lying unnoticed and probably suppressed for years?

At this point Mrs. Stopes's insistent belief in a lost, "filthy" *Court* may be mentioned,⁵⁸ a belief based largely on the supposition that the *Court* fragments we know did not warrant the "universal opprobrium" they received. Mrs. Stopes therefore invents a lascivious book that antedates the Douce *Court*. Since her conjectures about this mythical archetype are based on no concrete evidence, it is not necessary to refute them. Again, it does not help us to solve the problem of the attacks by reformers by going back to a time even earlier than 1537.

Does Henry Sutton's entry in the Stationers' Register for July 19, 1557, of a *Court of Venus* throw any light on this problem? Professor R. H. Griffith offers the suggestion that the cryptic entry refers to a book already in existence, rather than to a contemplated edition:

Since the Stationers' Register was being newly set up, for an official record, Sutton may conceivably have made his entry to protect his copyright in a book already in existence, rather than with the expectation of immediately reprinting his book. He had need to guard his property, whatever rights to copy he had, for Tottel published the first edition of 'Songs and Sonnets' on June 5, 1557, and he included ninety-six poems by Wyatt, among them three of those appearing in the Bright [Folger] fragment. It behooved Sutton to watch that 'Songs and Sonnets' did not absorb the 'Courte of Venus.'⁵⁹

Professor Griffith's suggestion seems to answer the vexed question of the attacks. If Sutton had printed a *Court* in 1549, after Hall's first edition of the *Proverbs* or simultaneous with it, and if this *Court* had enjoyed the considerable popularity indicated by Hall, we would know why Hall included an attack on *The Court of Venus* in his 1550 edition. We would know why he was able to parody the *Court* perhaps as early as 1551-1552, and why there were attacks in Becon's *Book of Matrimony*, probably written in Edward's reign,⁶⁰ and in the 1557 *Dial of Princes*. Our questions would be answered without any recourse to the early Douce edi-

⁵⁸ *Shakespeare's Industry*, pp. 315-317.

⁵⁹ Reginald Harvey Griffith, "The 'Boke of Balettes' Again," *TLS*, Sept. 4, 1930, p. 700.

⁶⁰ *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 307.

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tion, and we would have solved the problem of Henry Sutton's 1557 entry. But this solution becomes less than satisfactory when we realize that Sutton's name is not found in the colophon of any book before 1552. We have, therefore, no grounds for assuming that he was active in 1549. Our hypothesis is weakened, if not destroyed.

Professor Griffith's remark that "the running title [of the Stark fragment: *A Boke of Balettes*] may be different from the title-page title"⁶¹ opens up another possibility. We have already narrowed the date of the Stark fragment to 1547-1549. Could it have appeared in 1549 with *The Court of Venus* on its title page? It is not at all unlikely that this was so: if, of the Douce fragment, we were to possess only *The Pilgrim's Tale*, we might be skeptical that the complete book bore also the running title *The Court of Venus*. Perhaps the Stark fragment opened with the Prologue that we find in the Folger fragment. Stark might then properly have been known as *The Court of Venus*. Yet since we have no concrete evidence on which to base the conjecture that this was true, we must return to the dating 1547-1549, and simply suggest that Stark may have appeared in the latter year under the title of *The Court of Venus*. As a result of the work I have done on this subject, I feel sure that an edition of *The Court of Venus* appeared in 1549. I do not think that this edition is represented by the Stark fragment. The edition that I postulate was the target of the reformers and, I think, the source of Marshe's reprint in the sixties. In the 1550 *Proverbs* the "rhymes of vanitie and songes of baudry" which John Hall thought characteristic of *The Court of Venus* were said by him to have been long used heretofore. But in Hall's 1549 edition of the *Proverbs*, on sig. A4^r of the Epistle Dedicatory, we find the phrase: "rimes of vanitie & songes of baudrye the which of longe heretofore hath ben vsed." This is the same language as that employed by Hall a year later, save that *The Court of Venus* is not coupled with the phrase in the 1549 edition. The words "long heretofore hath ben vsed" have therefore no necessary bearing on the *Court*. There is no reason to assume, then, that Hall and the later critics were indeed looking back to the Douce *Court* of the late thirties.

⁶¹ R. H. Griffith, "A Lost 'Boke of Balettes' (?1550-1600)," *TLS*, July 5, 1928, p. 504.

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Dating of the Folger fragment turns on the condition of the woodcut border which adorns its title page. Sir E. K. Chambers, discovering the same border in Elyot's *Castle of Health*, printed by Marshe in 1561, thought the Folger border exhibited a greater degree of wear over its appearance in Elyot's book.⁶² Chambers concluded, therefore, that the Folger fragment was printed later than 1561, "and not much, if at all, later than 1565,"⁶³ this latter date assigned presumably on the basis of Hall's *Court of Virtue*, which appeared in 1565 with moralized parodies of two poems in the Folger *Court*. Professor W. A. Jackson, of the Houghton Library, assures me that the woodcut border of the Folger title page is definitely later than that of *The Castle of Health*. It is certain, then, that the Folger fragment appeared after 1561, but not quite so certain that it preceded the 1565 *Court of Virtue*. For if some of Hall's work were written in the fifties, it might obviously be quite independent of the Folger fragment, and might have based its moralizations on *A Booke of Balettes* (if indeed it bore *The Court of Venus* on its title page), or on a *Court* published about 1549 and now lost. Professor Rollins has pointed out that *The Court of Virtue* moralizes two poems in *Songs and Sonnets*,⁶⁴ but the first of these, "My lute awake," is found not only in the Folger fragment, but in Stark as well; and we might conjecture that the second, "Lyke as the lark within the marlians foote," was printed in Stark, too. Hence we are not absolutely sure that *The Court of Virtue* has reference to any work printed after the 1551-1552 date that Hall has given us for one of his poems, even though other poems in the *Court* date from the early sixties. Some indication that Hall's *Court* had reference to the Folger *Court* is the typographical similarity of the two works. We have seen that three capital *W*'s and a unique capital *Y* were used by Marshe in the *Governor* and in *The Court of Virtue*, both printed in 1565. Since these letters were used by Marshe in Folger, too, it is possible that all three works date from approximately the same time. It should be emphasized, however, that the life of a font of type was apt to reach one or two decades, and perhaps even more. The chance for type-longevity was espe-

⁶² Wyatt, p. 207.

⁶³ P. 207.

⁶⁴ *Tottel's Miscellany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928-1929), I, 62, No. 87; 126, No. 173.

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cially great in England, where Cornish tin made type metal particularly tough. We cannot be sure, therefore, that because Marshe repeated certain typographical peculiarities in three different works, all three works date from the same period.

Sounder evidence for the dating of Folger in the same period as *The Court of Virtue* is provided by the 1566-1567 entry in the Stationers' Register of *The Court of Venus Moralized*, by the preacher Thomas Brice. Just as it is difficult to imagine the reformers in the fifties attacking the *Douce Court*, so is it unlikely that Brice in the sixties was looking back to 1549. I think we may say with some assurance that his work, unfortunately lost, was a moralization of the *Folger Court*, and that Brice was perhaps inspired by the redactions of Hall in 1565.

If we now accept the influence of Folger on *The Court of Virtue*, we can narrow the date further, since Hall's book was entered in 1564-1565. The Introductory matter to Hall's *Chirurgery* refers to *The Court of Virtue* as being already in the printer's hands. Dated April 18, 1565, the introduction says that Hall "also hath finished another work inuaying against vice. And therefore named the Court of Virtue." I hardly think it possible for Hall to have modeled his *Court*, even generally, on a book that preceded the parodies by a matter of months or even weeks. I would say, therefore, that Folger must be dated no later than 1564, and was perhaps issued even earlier. The Folger fragment is thus to be dated after 1561 and before 1564.

3. The Contributors

None of the three fragments of *The Court of Venus* names the author of the poems. We are forced to determine authorship through the attributions of others, through internal evidence, and through comparison of the unsigned poems in Douce, Stark, and Folger with signed poems in other works. John Bale, the first to express an opinion about the authorship of the *Court*, ascribed the poems in Douce to Chaucer, listing under Chaucer's name *De curia Veneris* and *Narrationes diuersorum*. Bale's attributions were included in the *Scriptores*, published in 1548, 1549, and in a revised edition of 1557, reissued in 1559. Francis Thynne, in his *Animaduersiones* upon Speght's 1598 edition of Chaucer, added his prestige, as the son of Chaucer's first real editor, to Bale's attribution. Neglecting *The Court of Venus* proper, in 1599 Thynne centered his attention on *The Pilgrim's Tale*, the second part of the Douce fragment. If you say *The Pilgrim's Tale* cannot be Chaucer's, he argued,

because Chaucer in his prologues makethe not mentione of anye suche persone, which he wolde haue donne yf yt had byn so: for after that he had recyted the knyghte, the squyer, the squiers yeomane, the prioresse, her noone, and her thre preistes, the monke, the fryer, the marchant, the Clerke of Oxenforde, seriante at the lawe, franckleyne, haberdassher, goldsmythe, webbe, dyer and tapyster, Cooke, shypmane, doctor of physicke, wyfe of Bathe, parsonne and plowmane, he sayeth at the ende of the plowmans prologe,

There was also a Reue, and a millere,
A Sumpnoure, and a Pardoner,
A manciple, and my selfe: there was no mo.

All whiche make XXX persons with Chaucer: Wherefore yf there had byn anye moore, he wolde also haue recyted them in those verses: whereunto I answere, that in the prologes he lefte oute somme of those which tolde their tales; as the chanons yomane, because he came after that they were passed out of theyre Inne, and did over-take them, as in lyke sorte this pilgrime did or mighte doo, and so afterwardes be one of their companye, as was that chanons yeomane, althoughe Chaucer talke no moore of this pilgrime in his prologe then he doothe of the

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Chanons yeomane; whiche I dobt not wolde fullye appere, yf the pilgrimes prologe and tale mighte be restored to his former light, they being now looste, as manye other of Chaucers tales were before that, as I ame induced to thinke by manye reasons.⁶⁵

But *The Pilgrim's Tale* was evidently not written by Chaucer. The most obvious refutation of Thynne's belief and Bale's attribution is the mediocrity of the *Tale*, far below Chaucer at his worst. Moreover, *The Pilgrim's Tale* mentions the poet by name, and alludes to *The Romaunt of the Rose* by page and line, something it could not have done until 1532, when, as far as we know, the *Romaunt* was first printed. Finally, the references in the *Tale* to the break with Rome in 1534 and to the Lincolnshire rising of 1536 offer further proof that Chaucer had nothing to do with this fragment. Why, then, was it ascribed to him, and by scholarly men like Bale and Francis Thynne? I think the primary reason is that Chaucer's name appeared by design on the title page of the Douce fragment, printed by Gybson in 1537-1539. Chaucer's "fables," as we have seen, were specially privileged and exempt from censorship. Is it not likely that the compiler of Douce took advantage of this fact to practice a fraud, and so to get into circulation an attack on the corrupt priesthood? Whether the printer Gybson was deceived is another matter: probably he was not. He may have gone along deliberately with the deceit, or perhaps his strongly Protestant and patriotic emotions won over doubts that were merely intellectual. The spurious *Plowman's Tale* was long accepted, and by many keen minds, as part of the Chaucer canon, though it is an exceedingly crude poem which Chaucer could never have written. But once William Thynne, mistakenly or shrewdly, included *The Plowman's Tale* in his 1542 Chaucer, to question its authenticity successfully was almost impossible. For if that authenticity were destroyed, Protestant England would lose the moral support of the greatest English poet before the Reformation. We may picture a somewhat similar emotional bias inclining readers to credit Chaucer's authorship of *The Pilgrim's Tale*. Professor Lounsbury says that *The Pilgrim's Tale* "either bore Chaucer's name on its title page, or its contents came speedily to be attributed to him."⁶⁶ Bale, I think, quite possibly never read the *Tale*, and accepted without question the attribution on the

⁶⁵ *Animaduersions*, pp. 10 f.

⁶⁶ *Studies*, I, 466 f.

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Douce title page. Francis Thynne, we know, never even saw *The Pilgrim's Tale*; it had only been quoted to him. Thus the evidence given by these two writers, crediting Chaucer with the *Tale*, is of little or no value.

Bale, however, also attributed *De curia Veneris* to Chaucer, and in this case his attribution is not so easily overturned. As late as 1916, Mrs. Stopes was partially inclined to accept it:

While it is clear that Chaucer did not write 'The Pylgrymse Tale' it is not so clear that 'The Court of Venus' was not by him. It is just the sort of *title* that might have accompanied his authorship. He did write 'The Complaynte of Venus.' In Gower's 'Confessio Amantis' there are suggestive allusions to Venus, her Court, her Confessor Genius, and her poet Chaucer. 'Moral Gower' is told he is too old to stay longer at the Queen's Court, who bids him adieu and says—

And grete well Chaucer when ye mete
As my disciple and my poet
For in the flowere of his youthe,
In sondry wise as he well couthe,
Of dytes and of songes glade,
the whiche for my sake he made—
the land fulfilled is over all:
wherefore to hym in especiall
above all others I am most holde
for-thy nowe in his dayes olde
Thou shalt hym tell this message
that he uppon his latter age
sette an ende of all his werke
as he whiche is myne owne clerke
do make his Testament of Love . . .
as thou hast donne thy shrift above
so that my Courte yt may recorde &c.⁶⁷

The advice to Gower and the characterization of Chaucer are given by Venus. Emphasizing Gower's belief that Chaucer was the author of many "ditties and glad songs" spread over the land and now lost, Mrs. Stopes remarks elsewhere that "The old 'Court of Venus,' like the Sphinx of Egypt, seems to have been of unknown antiquity. There may have been many songs and ballads floating through the land, such as Gower refers to. Some of these may have been by Chaucer, others may have been fathered on him, and both series may have become adulterated in handing

⁶⁷ *Shakespeare's Industry*, pp. 311 f.

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on. These may have been collected under this title at any time."⁶⁸ Mrs. Stopes is possibly right in believing that some of Chaucer's short poems were included in the Douce *Court of Venus*, and even in the Stark and Folger fragments. A poem of Chaucer's actually does occur in Tottel's *Songs and Sonnets*. Why should we not admit Chaucer to the *Court*, and thus explain its attribution to him? To do so would be to dispose too easily of the whole question of attribution. Moreover, it is possible that the linking of Chaucer with *The Court* was occasioned by confusion with Chaucer's *Complaint of Venus*, a series of ballads freely translated from the French poet, Otes de Granson. *The Complaint of Venus* was printed in Julian Notary's edition, 1499-1501, and in William Thynne's first edition of 1532. Also, there is the apocryphal *Court of Love*, dating from about 1500, and kindred in form to the Prologue of *The Court of Venus*. In *The Court of Love*, "Philogenet, of Cambridge Clerk," once identified with the young Chaucer, goes to the Court of Venus and finds Admetus and Alceste, the heroine of *The Legend of Good Women*, presiding over the Castle of Love. The Queen's handmaid, Philobone, introduces Philogenet to the wonders of the castle. After swearing allegiance to the Twenty Statutes of Love, he falls in love with Lady Rosial. His love is at length requited, and in a tender speech Rosial describes how Pite, whom Philogenet had seen buried in the temple of Venus, has arisen to soften her towards her lover. The poem ends on May morning with a typical bird scene, in which a chorus of birds sing in honor of love, paraphrasing the matins for Trinity Sunday. This poem did not appear in any of the Thynne reprints until the 1561 edition, to which, when more than half printed, Stowe contributed *The Court of Love*, Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, and other poems. But *The Court of Love* doubtless circulated earlier in the century in manuscript form, and the similarity of its title and manner to *The Court of Venus* may have contributed to the ascription of the latter work to Chaucer. We may say of Chaucer's hypothetical connection with *The Court of Venus*, then, that he certainly did not write *The Pilgrim's Tale*, and that, while poems of his may have been included in the three known editions of the *Court*, internal evidence does not incline us to give any of the poems surviving in the fragments to him. There

⁶⁸ *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 320.

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is a slight possibility that Chaucer was the author of the Prologue to *The Court of Venus*. It is more probable, however, that this work, like *The Court of Love*, is apocryphal, and that the attribution to Chaucer rests on an error, generated perhaps deliberately to escape censorship, and on a confusion with similar works like *The Court of Love* and *The Complaint of Venus*. Chaucer is therefore to be placed among the "uncertain authors" whose poems may have been included in *The Court of Venus*.

The attribution of the Prologue to Robert Shyngleton, a dissenting priest, is based on John Bale's correction of the *Scriptores* in his *Index Britanniae scriptorum*, begun in 1549 or 1550 and finished sometime after 1557. In this work, Bale shifts the *Curiam Veneris* from Chaucer to Shyngleton. His entry is

Robertus Shyngleton, astrorum et theologie peritus, sacerdos, composuit,	
De septem ecclesijs,	li. i.
Curiam Veneris,	li. i.
Atque alia plura.	Londini paciebatur,

A.D. 1544.

Ex Thoma Gybson medico.

Robertus Shyngleton, Anglus, sacerdos, scripsit,	
De vij. ecclesijs,	li. i.
De spiritu,	li. i.

Ex Bibliotheca regis.⁶⁹

Bale's entry raises two questions. Why was attribution of the *Court* changed from Chaucer to Shyngleton? Does Bale's listing of the *Court* under Chaucer's name in the 1559 edition of the *Scriptores* overturn the attribution to Shyngleton in the *Index*, and just how valid is this attribution? These questions have been answered elsewhere: Bale's change was occasioned by information imparted to him by his friend, Thomas Gybson, doctor, quondam printer, and the man most likely to know who was the author of the 1537-1539 *Court of Venus*. Thus the attribution of the *Court* to Shyngleton is entirely valid. Furthermore, we have seen that Bale mentioned the 1557 *Scriptores* in the *Index* and, since the 1559 *Scriptores* was a reprint of the 1557 edition, we may feel confident that the attribution to Chaucer in 1559 does not represent a return to Bale's original point of view, but is simply a duplication of the error which the *Index* corrects.

⁶⁹ Poole, p. 389.

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But what is *The Court of Venus* which Bale attributes to Shyngleton? I take it to be the Prologue, surviving, to be sure, only in Marshe's edition of the sixties, but printed first, if my reading of the evidence is correct, in Gybson's edition of the thirties. The case for Shyngleton may be summarized as follows: he had been a chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and would not then have been incapable of the secular poetry of the Prologue, quite in the manner of a fifteenth-century writer of *Troilus* verse. He was, it may be mentioned, the author of *The Theory of the Earth*, which Bliss, editing Wood's *Athenae*, calls a "rhapsody."⁷⁰ He was a reformer, and the Prologue exhibits strictures against the clergy. Finally, *The Court of Venus*—for which, on the evidence, I am compelled to read "Prologue"—is definitely attributed to him by the best authority available. One must be content with that attribution. I give the Prologue, therefore, to Robert Shyngleton.⁷¹

And *The Pilgrim's Tale*? The author of the *Tale* was an Oxonian; he tells us so:

& then he asked me and I were cantibrygion
I sayd no, I was an oxonian [F6v].

Anthony Wood says that Shyngleton was an Oxonian.⁷² What else is discoverable about this man? He was always esteemed ingenious while in the University, and afterwards, becoming a priest and frequent preacher, "he took occasion to reflect on the times, and certain persons in his sermons."⁷³ Not only did Shyngleton reflect and preach, he wrote as well, and his writings, containing many treasonable matters, gave such great offense that at last he was hanged.

All that one knows about Shyngleton, then: dissenter, propagandist, and ultimate martyr, points to a connection with the *Tale*. Yet at least this objection must be urged: the Prologue to the *Court* in spelling and usage is more modern than its antique companion. If Shyngleton was in fact responsible for the *Tale*,

⁷⁰ *Athenae*, I, 144.

⁷¹ For information on Robert Shyngleton see *D.N.B.*, LII (1897), 315; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1887), X, 247, 257; (1892), XIII, part I, 302; (1901), XVIII, part I, 313 f.; James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* (London, 1908-1913), II, 380-383; *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, 1563, ed. Stephen Reed Cattley (London, 1838), V, 600 f.

⁷² *Athenae*, I, 144.

⁷³ *Athenae*, I, 144.

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it can have been only in some such manner as Lowell assumed in *The Biglow Papers*: that is, as a conscious archaizer, working through dialect. In considering this hypothesis it is instructive to recall that Shyngleton was a Lancashireman, and that the *Tale* seems to reflect a northern dialect. Some of its words, like *aske*, are common in the Morecambe Bay region of Lancashire, while various legends suggested in the *Tale* are current in that district of England. It may therefore be suggested, with a diffidence based on the reservations outlined above, that Shyngleton was author of both Prologue and *Tale*. But since plausibility has never yet constituted proof, no downright attribution is possible.

By far the most important part of *The Court of Venus* fragments is the selection of "court poetry." We are fortunate in being able to attribute without question much of it to Sir Thomas Wyatt. Of the two poems that survive in the Douce fragment, the second, "Dryuen by dissyr to set affection," has echoes of lines by Wyatt in the Devonshire MS, a volume in which many of Wyatt's poems are found.⁷⁴ The Devonshire version, "Driven by desire I did this deed," is found also in *Songs and Sonnets*. I believe that the Douce version is a reworking by Wyatt of the Devonshire poem. Of the five poems in Stark, three can be given unhesitatingly to Wyatt. These are "If fantasy would fauour," "My penne take payne," and "My lute awake." Each is found in manuscript sources of Wyatt's verse. "My lute awake" was printed in *Nugae Antiquae*⁷⁵ under the heading, "By the Earl of Rocheford. In Manuscript, dated 1564." But the evidence of *Nugae Antiquae* is corroborated by no other work. A fourth poem in Stark, "Loue whom you lyst and spare not," is found in a shorter and probably earlier form in the Devonshire MS. I believe that this poem was also reworked by Wyatt from the Devonshire version. The fifth poem of the Stark fragment, "Shal she neuer out of my mynd," occurs elsewhere only in Folger. Of the twelve Folger poems, Nos. 1, 2, and 7 are found in Stark and other sources, and are the work of Sir Thomas Wyatt. No. 10, "Loue whom you lyst and spare not," occurs in Stark and, attenuated, in the Devonshire MS. A fifth poem, "Meruaile no

⁷⁴ For information about the manuscript sources of Wyatt's poems, see the chapter on "The Relationship of the Fragments."

⁷⁵ Ed. Henry Harington (1775), II, 252 f.; see also the editions of 1779, 1792, III, 286 f., 1804, II, 400 f.

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more altho," is found in the Egerton MS, which is considered the most reliable source of Wyatt's poems. "Meruaile no more" is found also in the Devonshire MS and in *Songs and Sonnets*, and a sixth poem, "Dysdaine me not," is given by Tottel, too. Thus these two poems are also certifiable as Wyatt's. A total of five poems, then, out of the fourteen surviving in the fragments may definitely be given to Wyatt. Two more, echoing the Devonshire MS, are I think assignable to him also. What of the remaining seven poems? One, a fragment beginning, "which had me in the snare," opens the Douce fragment. If Stark was a reprint of Douce,⁷⁶ this poem was probably included in Copland's book of 1547-1549. If, further, one agrees with Mrs. Stopes's statement that the poems in Douce, on internal evidence, are probably the work of Sir Thomas Wyatt,⁷⁷ the number of poems assigned to him would thereby increase to eight. Of the other six poems in the fragments, one, as noted, is found only in Stark and Folger, and five are found in Folger alone. These five poems are "To whom should I sue to ease my payne," "Fortune what ayleth the," "I may by no meanes surmyse," "During of payne and greuous smart," and "Now must I lern to faine." Mrs. Stopes says, I think correctly, that "The [Folger] poems seem very much of the same style of thought as the verses in the Douce fragment."⁷⁸ It is of course possible that Wyatt was the author of some or all of these unidentified poems, and that his predominance in the work that survives indicates that the same predominance was characteristic of the three books as they appeared in complete form. Mrs. Stopes writes: "If so many [poems by Wyatt] were found in one fragment, we may believe it possible on the principle of averages that a similar proportion might have appeared on the other folios."⁷⁹ The short-poem section of *The Court of Venus* editions may in fact have been devoted exclusively to Wyatt's poetry. In opposition to this hypothesis there is the statement of Sir E. K. Chambers "that, while in various degrees . . . [the unidentified poems] suggest Wyatt's phrasing and love for a refrain, the presence of his controlling mind is less obvious."⁸⁰ My own conclusion is necessarily conservative: five of the poems in

⁷⁶ I will attempt to show in my chapter on "The Relationship of the Fragments" that Stark reprinted Douce.

⁷⁷ *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 323.

⁷⁹ P. 319.

⁷⁸ *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 314.

⁸⁰ *Wyatt*, p. 112.

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the fragments are definitely Wyatt's, three more are probably his, and seven are of uncertain authorship. Of these seven, some or all may have been written by Wyatt, too.

We can dispose of Mrs. Stopes's conjecture that Wyatt "was [possibly] the author of 'The pilgrim's Tale' itself"⁸¹ by recalling the great difference between the *Tale* and the poems. Mrs. Stopes further suggests that "Wyatt had the same relation to . . . ['The Newe Court of Venus'] as Richard Edwards had to the P. of D. D. [*Paradise of Dainty Devices*]; that he even had meant to publish the collection, had not Death prevented that as well as further original works."⁸² Mrs. Stopes did not realize that *The Newe Court of Venus* appeared a generation after Wyatt's death. Yet Edwards was dead ten years before the publication of the *Paradise*. Perhaps, then, Wyatt actually did assemble the *Court* poems with an eye to printing. Mrs. Stopes advanced her suggestion to bolster her belief that Wyatt, as a reformer and psalm-writer, had redacted an early, immoral *Court of Venus*. But this belief, devoid of any supporting evidence, is refuted by the very nature of the supposed redactions. Finally, there is Mrs. Stopes's suggestion that Nicholas Brigham, admirer of Chaucer and probable acquaintance of William Thynne, altered and published *The Court of Venus* in 1557, the year of Henry Sutton's entry in the Stationers' Register.⁸³ Again, we have no evidence that Brigham was connected with the *Court* and, since Sutton's hypothetical edition does not survive, the case for Brigham must be relegated to the limbo of unproved conjectures.

⁸¹ *Athenaeum*, July 1, 1899, p. 38.

⁸² *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 319.

⁸³ Pp. 316 f.

4. The Relationship of the Fragments

What relationship, if any, can be shown to exist between Douce, Stark, and Folger fragments? Do any one of the fragments utilize the manuscript sources of Wyatt's poems? Perhaps a word should be said about these sources before we examine their relationship to the fragments.

Six manuscript collections of Wyatt's poems are known to exist. The most important are the Devonshire (Additional MS 17492, British Museum) and Egerton (2711, British Museum) MSS. The Devonshire MS is thought to be the older of the two.⁸⁴ Written in different hands, it bears the name of Henry Fitzroy, bastard son of Henry VIII by Elizabeth Blount; Fitzroy's wife, Mary Howard; Mary's brother, the Earl of Surrey; and Margaret Howard, née Douglas, daughter of Henry VIII's sister, Queen Margaret of Scotland, and wife successively to Thomas Lord Howard and the Earl of Lennox. The names of Mary Shelton, supposed to be the sister of Anne Boleyn's maid of honor, Margaret Shelton; and an unidentified Ryche, perhaps the Mistress Ryche whose portrait was painted by Holbein, or Henry's Solicitor General and Chancellor of the Augmentations, Richard Riche, are also found in the Devonshire MS. Wyatt's poems make up the greatest part of the MS, but included also are pieces by Surrey; Thomas Howard, son of the Duke of Norfolk and the poet's half-uncle; Sir Anthony Lee, whose wife Margaret was Wyatt's sister; Edmund Knyvett, close friend of Surrey; Richard Hatfield; an unidentified A. I.; and one poem by Henry Stewart, Earl of Darnley and husband of Mary Queen of Scots.⁸⁵

There is no attempt to place the poems in chronological order in the Devonshire MS. A long group of Wyatt's poems, copied in one hand, and signed, not as Miss Foxwell states, with the interlaced initials T. V. (Thomas Viatus), but with the abbrevia-

⁸⁴ *Wyatt*, p. 108.

⁸⁵ In Miss Foxwell's edition of Wyatt, II, 242-246, the reader will find a long and, it may be, more than ingenious account of the provenance of the D. MS, which is traced from Wyatt's hands in 1528 to the hands of G. F. Nott, the nineteenth-century editor of Wyatt, and thence to the British Museum.

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tion F. S. (Finis), begins at folio 65. From folio 69 on, songs which are found nowhere else predominate. These songs are interspersed with sonnets, epigrams, and satires. Where poems are common to the Devonshire and Egerton MSS, the versions often reveal differences. Miss Foxwell, and Mr. Muir, Wyatt's recent editor, believe the Devonshire version to be the earlier.⁸⁶

The Egerton MS is considered the most authoritative source of Wyatt's poetry. Many of the poems it contains are in a single scribal hand, and a few were actually written out by Wyatt, who has gone over the others, correcting, and setting his initials in the margin. Sometimes poems that are corrected by Wyatt in the Egerton MS appear in their original form in Devonshire. Though the textual importance of the Egerton MS is very great, its value has been lessened by the fact that it was apparently used as a copy-book by the Harington family. John Harington (fl. 1550) and his son Sir John (ca. 1561-1612) are well known for their poetry and for the latter Harington's translation of Ariosto. How the Haringtons acquired the volume is not known. Certainly it was treated with little respect, for writing occurs not only around but over Wyatt's poems, and some of the pages have been torn away. The absence of some important poems from the Egerton MS is probably accounted for by the many missing pages. Sir E. K. Chambers believes that Wyatt's revisions in the Egerton MS indicate an intention to publish the poems, but he doubts that this design was ever carried out.⁸⁷ Lines in the Devonshire MS seem to point to an intention to publish:

And patiently, O reader, I the praye,
Take in good parte this worke as yt ys mente,
And greve thee not with ought that I shall saye,
Sins with good will this boke abrode ys sente,
To tell men howe in youthe I ded assaye
What love ded mene, and nowe I yt repente,
Yet moving [?That musing: *Chambers, Wyatt*] me
my frendes might well be ware,
And kepe them free from all such payne
and care.

A third collection of poems, Additional MS 28635, in the

⁸⁶ Foxwell, II, 143; *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. Kenneth Muir (London, 1949), p. 256.

⁸⁷ *Wyatt*, pp. 110 f.

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British Museum, is a nineteenth-century transcript by G. F. Nott of a manuscript now located in Arundel Castle.⁸⁸ The Arundel MS, an anthology of sixteenth-century verse which includes many poems ascribed to Sir Thomas Wyatt, was collected by John Harington the elder and his son, Sir John. It was once the companion volume to Egerton MS 2711. Before 1612 Sir John Harington collected still more of Wyatt's poems with some of his own in what is now the British Museum Additional MS 36529. Harleian MS 78, in the British Museum, and Corpus Christi College MS 168, at Cambridge, are the fifth and sixth sources of Wyatt's poetry, but they add relatively little to the Wyatt canon.

Of the two lyrics in Douce, the first is incomplete and has no parallel with any other known poem. This fragment begins, "which had me in the snare." The second lyric, "Dryuen by dysyr to set affection," echoes lines by Wyatt found only in the Devonshire MS and in *Songs and Sonnets*. Of the five poems in the Stark fragment, the first, beginning "The fantasy of my harte," is given more fully in the Devonshire and Egerton MSS as well as in the Folger fragment. The second poem in Stark is the tripping "Loue whom you lyst and spare not." This poem is found, considerably attenuated, in Devonshire, and is rendered fully in Folger. The third poem, "Shal she neuer out of my mynd," is found elsewhere only in Folger. "My penne take payne," the fourth poem of the Stark fragment, occurs both in Devonshire and in Folger. The last poem of the fragment, "My lute awake," is common to Devonshire, Egerton, *Songs and Sonnets*, and Folger.

Five poems of the twelve in the Folger fragment are not found elsewhere. The twelfth poem, "Shal she neuer out of my mynd," occurs again only in Stark. The first poem in Folger, "My penne take payne," is common to Devonshire and Stark. The second, "My lute awake," is found in Devonshire, Egerton, Stark, and *Songs and Sonnets*, which is the only other source of the fourth poem in Folger, "Dysdaine me not." The seventh poem, "If fantasy would faour," is found in Devonshire, Egerton, and Stark. The tenth, "Loue whom you lyst and spare not," is attenuated in Devonshire and incomplete in Stark. The eleventh poem, "Mer-

⁸⁸ See Ruth Hughey, "The Harington Manuscript at Arundel Castle and Related Documents," *The Library*, 4th Series, XV (1934-1935), 388-444.

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uaille no more al tho," occurs in Devonshire, Egerton, and *Songs and Sonnets*.

The second poem of the Douce fragment, "Dryuen by dissyr to set affection," exhibits certain parallels with Devonshire, which in turn furnishes the text for Tottel. But the Douce and Devonshire versions differ so widely that *another source*, about which we have no information, is indicated for Douce.

Comparison between the Stark and Folger fragments seems to indicate that Folger is a reprint of Stark. If the reader will refer to the Table of Variant Readings and Misprints, he will find Stark and Folger readings coinciding in eleven cases, while departing from the readings of the same poems in Egerton and Tottel. In these eleven cases, too, the Egerton and Tottel readings themselves coincide. Poems in Folger not found in Stark differ from the identical versions of Egerton and Tottel sixteen times. If the Stark fragment were complete, we would perhaps find it coinciding with Folger in these sixteen instances, too. Moreover, Stark and Folger give the only *full* versions of "Loue whom you lyst," and the only versions known of "Shal she neuer out of my mynd." In "My lute awake," Stark and Folger omit an entire five-line stanza that is found in the Egerton and Tottel versions of the poem. And in line 5 of "Shal she neuer out of my mynd," Folger, while omitting the pointing hand that we find printed in the Stark version, indents just as if a hand were to be inserted. Textual comparisons seem to indicate, then, that Folger is a reprint of Stark.

These comparisons definitely overturn Miss Foxwell's statement that "the editor of Tottel had no access to the E. MS."⁸⁹ I believe that Tottel used the Egerton MS in compiling *Songs and Sonnets*, and my belief is reinforced by his use, in the poem "Meruaile no more al tho," of the word "(Souch)" in parentheses, implying a reference to an actual person.⁹⁰ The Egerton, Devonshire, and Folger versions of the poem have no parentheses, but the two latter use the spelling "such" or "suche," which in Egerton has been omitted altogether at first and later supplied as "Souche." Tottel's reading may indicate a concealed reference, as Sir E. K. Chambers thinks, or it may simply indicate the dubious validity of the source reading. We know that Tottel did not

⁸⁹ Foxwell, I, x.

⁹⁰ *Wyatt*, pp. 139 f.

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draw on the *Court* fragments, for he differs widely from them in significant instances, but the fact that *Songs and Sonnets* gives the only other reading of "Dysdaine me not" points to a lost source common to both Tottel and Folger. In "Dysdaine me not" Tottel omits the refrain, as was often his custom, and his reading exhibits a number of variants, indicating that his source was not identical with Folger's but that both Tottel and Folger used differing copies of some primary source, which I shall later attempt to identify.

If Folger is a reprint of Stark, it is certainly a sloppy reprint. Many words found in Stark are dropped or misprinted in Folger. Simple cases of dropped words occur five times in poems common to Folger and Stark, and ordinary misprints three times more. In three cases Folger seems to drop or misprint a word in poems which are found in Stark with the reading unfortunately torn away. Again, the Folger version of "To whom should I sue to ease my payne" probably drops a whole line between lines 6 and 7. Lines 17 and 18 of "Dysdaine me not" probably jumble two lines in an incorrect reading. The Stark versions of the two poems are missing. Now although correspondences occurring only between the two fragments are numerous and striking enough to indicate a reprint, and though that reprint is manifestly spotty, there remain significant differences between Folger and Stark. These differences cannot be construed as mere misprints or whimsical emendations. Let the reader turn once more to the Table of Variant Readings and Misprints, and he will find that significant variations (other than obvious misprints) of Folger from Stark occur thirteen times.

Did Folger draw, then, not only on Stark but on another source as well? That other source, as has been shown, could have been neither Egerton nor Tottel, for these volumes differ far too widely from Folger to have been used in its compilation. Nor was the source any one of the minor Wyatt MSS,⁹¹ for these either follow Folger in time or differ from it as Egerton does. The Devonshire MS remains, among the known sources, the only possibility. Miss Foxwell says: "The [Folger] poems were obtained from someone who knew the D. MS., or was connected with the Court, for five of Wiat's songs in the *Court of Venus*

⁹¹ Arundel Castle MS, Additional MS 36529, Harleian MS 78, C.C.C.C. MS 168.

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are contained in the D. MS., two of these being peculiar to that MS."⁹² And indeed we find that Folger gives the Devonshire reading nine times, and in each case the correspondence is peculiar to Folger and Devonshire and to no other source. Is Devonshire, then, the second source on which Folger drew? If it is, how do we explain the presence of "Loue whom you lyst and spare not," in what has been conjectured to be the complete form,⁹³ in Stark and Folger but in an attenuated form in Devonshire? How do we explain the fact that an improvement in line 6 of the Folger version of "My penne take payne" over line 6 of the Stark version is not consonant with the Devonshire reading? Why does line 9 in the Folger and Stark versions of "My penne take payne" improve on the same line in Devonshire? Why does the tenth line of the same poem in Folger give a word found in neither Stark nor Devonshire, and why, when we find that line 19 of the Folger version of "My penne take payne" is paralleled only in Devonshire, do the lines in the fragment and MS differ nevertheless from one another? Other examples in which Stark and Folger readings coincide but differ from the Devonshire reading might be adduced. Not only does Devonshire exhibit often a totally different reading from that of Folger, but it fails to give *at all* the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, eighth, ninth, and twelfth poems of the Folger fragment. Miss Foxwell is therefore incorrect in assuming that the compiler of Folger knew Devonshire, and we are forced to conclude that this MS is not the second source which we have been seeking.

The fact remains, however, that the Devonshire MS is often extremely close in its readings to Stark and Folger. Since Devonshire is not close enough to be a direct source, the question arises, was it an intermediate source of Stark and Folger? Was it the first link in a chain extending from Devonshire to a revised or expanded book or manuscript, and from thence to the Stark and Folger fragments? I think that this sequence actually occurred, and I suggest that the lost source, of great value and close to Wyatt's final versions of the poems, was the book printed by Thomas Gybson in the years 1537-1539. Noble persons caring for poetry had been interested in the Devonshire MS and had left their names in the volume. I do not think that the MS would

⁹² Foxwell, II, 173.

⁹³ II, 174.

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have left their hands before a copy of it had been made. We know that written copies of verses circulated constantly during the sixteenth century, like Shakespeare's "sugred sonnets among his private friends." Often these written copies were the only versions available. We cannot suppose that lovers of poetry would have held such treasures lightly in the first decades of the sixteenth century when almost no contemporary verse was printed. It is likely, then, that the Devonshire MS was copied at least once, and probably more than once, before it went on its travels. The copies, full of the variants and permutations that are the lot of such documents, remained behind at Court and continued to have entered in them the new poems of Wyatt and his revised versions of the older poems.

Now let us recall the "envoi" in the Devonshire MS, indicating, if one accepts Sir E. K. Chambers' conjecture, Wyatt's intention to publish. If the intention was carried out under Wyatt's supervision, publication must have taken place before April, 1537, for in that month Wyatt left England as ambassador to Spain. If someone else, a friend of Wyatt's or a piratical friend of the printer Gybson, was responsible for the publication, it would certainly have occurred before 1539, when Gybson ceased printing. Sir E. K. Chambers believes that "some of Wyatt's floating pieces were included"⁹⁴ in the first edition of the *Court*. No doubt it is safer to assume that Wyatt had nothing to do with the issuing of his poems. Still, it is germane to point out that he could have overseen publication in 1538, when he returned to England for a brief visit, and in 1539, when he was again at home.

One should emphasize that the higher degree of perfection exhibited by some of the poems in Folger cannot be accounted for by any of the known Wyatt sources. Mrs. Stopes says: "It is evident that the original 'copy' of 'The Newe Court of Venus,' contained occasionally fuller and more careful renderings than those which have otherwise come down to us, as if the author had himself transcribed and carefully corrected them." She continues: "The only other copy of 'Dysdaine me not' is in Tottel, but he omits the refrain. There are several copies of a poem beginning 'If Fansy would favour.' But how much more rhythmic is the form 'If Fantasy would favour' [as it appears in Folger], and how

⁹⁴ *Wyatt*, p. 117.

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much more intelligible the second line 'As I deserue and shal.' Some of these other copies omit verses, generally different ones. 'The Newe Court of Venus' recension of the poem 'Loue whom you lyst' [found also in Stark] is the *only complete* one. It runs into 20 lines, whereas the only other copy, beginning with 'Hate whom you list,' Add. MS. 17492 [Devonshire], runs only into 10 lines."⁹⁵ It is "the original 'copy'" that we lack. Since the Douce fragment in one lyric seems to expand a poem in the Devonshire MS just as Stark and Folger expand Devonshire in another instance, I do not hesitate to suggest that Douce may be part of "the original 'copy'" we are seeking. The impression that this is so gains strength from the fact that "dryuen by desire I dede this dede," the Devonshire poem (found also in Tottel under the title "Of sodaine trusting") which Douce revises, fits the circumstances of Wyatt's early acquaintance with Anne Boleyn. At the time of Anne's downfall in 1536, Wyatt perhaps attempted to efface his suddenly dangerous expressions from the poem, thus giving us the greatly altered Douce version, which begins "Dryuen by dissyr to set affection." Many other phrases resembling the Douce revision are scattered throughout Wyatt's recognized work:

I see that Chance hath chosen me,
Thus secretely to live in payne.
And another giuen the fee
Of all my losse to haue the gayne,
By chance assured thus do I serue,
And other haue what I deserue.⁹⁶

If my hypothesis is correct, we may construct a chain in which Devonshire and its copies figure as the first link. Working from his own copies of the poems found in Devonshire, Wyatt recast and expanded the original versions, like "Dryuen by desire," for reasons politic or simply artistic. With or without his supervision, some of the revisions were published in 1537-1539 by Thomas Gybson. Now it may be asked whether the Thomas Gybson-William Copland relationship (which was indicated by Colonel Isaac's remark that "[Gybson's] types are those of W. Copland," and partly confirmed by my discovery that capital initials used by Copland are apparently identical to those used by Gybson) ex-

⁹⁵ *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 323.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

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tended at all to the transferring of literary property? I believe that Copland's source for the Stark poems was Gybson's book. Copland may have acquired this book fortuitously, or it may have come to him through Gybson himself.

I believe, therefore, that *A Booke of Balettes* is based on Thomas Gybson's *Court of Venus*, and that the early *Court* took its poems from an expanded copy of the Devonshire MS.

We have still to explain the fact that versions of poems in the Folger fragment are sometimes independent of Stark. Might we say that Thomas Marshe collated a book or MS with Stark to produce the Folger *Court of Venus*? Unfortunately, investigation tends to convince us that Marshe was too slovenly a printer and too careless of the result to bestir himself by collating. Indeed, examples of Marshe's printing verbatim from his copy without any eye to sense or honest craftsmanship are frequent and often ludicrous. We must give over, then, the idea that Marshe collated another source with Stark. But if no collation occurred, the Folger fragment *was not a reprint of Stark*. I have shown that too many differences exist between Folger and Stark to make a complete reprint possible. I therefore suggested collation, to account for these differences. But now we see that collation is not likely to have occurred. What, then, is the source of Folger? It is either a manuscript of which we have no knowledge, or a lost edition of *The Court of Venus*. Marshe's title page advertises the work as "Newly and diligently corrected with many proper Ballades newly amended, and also added thervnto which haue not before bene imprinted." This language to me indicates collation, but Marshe is probably only puffing his edition, or literally copying the title of the preceding edition, which may have been advertised in the same way. The phrase "which haue not before bene imprinted" suggests that Marshe had access to a manuscript not previously available. Let us recall the copies that were probably made from the Devonshire MS before that volume was carried to Norfolk. Marshe may have secured one of these copies. His copy would certainly vary somewhat from its original, and would contain poems not found in the original. For Devonshire had been taken from the center of poetical activity, the *Court*, while its copy remained behind. But if Marshe drew on such a copy, it would have

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to have had impossible affinities with the Stark fragment to account for the parallels between Folger and Stark. And Marshe's printing from manuscript is a picture I would hesitate to accept, if any alternative existed.

An alternative does in fact exist. The real source of Folger, I think, is a lost edition of *The Court of Venus*. If such an edition existed, it is perhaps represented by Henry Sutton's 1557 entry in the Stationers' Register, or by the edition I have hypothesized in the year 1549. The edition was patterned largely on *A Booke of Balettes*. But its compiler, more industrious than Marshe, collated a copy of the Devonshire MS with Stark in printing his book. Marshe, not one to hunt for manuscripts, reprinted the edition. Thus the correspondences between Folger and Tottel stem from the use by Richard Tottel of a copy of the Devonshire MS in compiling *Songs and Sonnets*. The printer of the lost *Court of Venus* had access to a different copy of the MS. This lost edition, collating the copy and the Stark fragment, was reprinted by Marshe. Folger, accordingly, exhibits many parallels with Stark because Stark lies directly behind the work on which Marshe drew.

Let us therefore summarize the relationship of *The Court of Venus* fragments as follows. About the time of Anne Boleyn's fall in 1536, and concurrent with the Lincolnshire rebellion, Sir Thomas Wyatt recast a number of his poems. Wyatt's revisions were secured by Thomas Gybson, and printed soon afterwards as *The Court of Venus* in a volume with *The Pilgrim's Tale*. But the *Tale* was obnoxious to the clergy, and finally, to the Crown,⁹⁷ and in the suppression of the volume, which probably followed speedily after publication, the *Court*, because of its unlucky association with the *Tale*, was also suppressed. About a decade later, William Copland acquired Gybson's book and reprinted many of

⁹⁷ Because of the danger to authority inherent in political prophecy, Henry VIII ultimately caused all prophecies to be banned. He made it a felony without benefit of clergy "to declare any false prophecy upon occasion of arms, fields, letters, names, cognizances, or badges." (Cf. Rupert Taylor, *The Political Prophecy in England*, New York, 1911, p. 105.) At the accession of Edward VI this law was repealed, only to be re-enacted three years later. Though repealed once more in Mary's reign, and not subsequently re-enacted, it was revived in different form by Elizabeth. I infer that the disappearance of *The Pilgrim's Tale* was due at least in part to the continuing royal edict against the literary type of which it was a representative. For a detailed discussion of this difficult poem, and an at-

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its poems. Another printer took these poems, collated them with a copy of the Devonshire MS, and issued an edition of *The Court of Venus* in the years between the publication of the Stark and Folger fragments. When Thomas Marshe came to publish Folger in the sixties, he simply reprinted the last edition of the *Court* that had appeared.

tempt to resolve its many ambiguities and obscurities, see an article by the present writer entitled "Political Prophecy in *The Pilgrim's Tale*," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LVI (1957).

5. Style

Varying styles characterize the poetry of the three *Court of Venus* fragments. We may begin with the *Court Prologue*, since it was probably printed first. The Prologue is written in rime royal and is 105 lines, or 15 stanzas, long. The versification is clumsy and the flavor archaic, characteristic of the fifteenth-century writer of *Troilus* verse. The tone of the Prologue is kindred to that of the pseudo-Chaucerian *Court of Love*, though the Prologue seems the work of a later writer who is beginning to break with the medieval tradition. For the most part, however, the Prologue still looks backward to Chaucer rather than forward to the Renaissance. Miss Foxwell thought that the Prologue was inserted in the *Court* to represent the old fashion of handling a love theme, after the style of the *Roman de la Rose*.⁹⁸ Contrasted to this old style, in her opinion, were Wyatt's songs, following the Prologue and treating love in the Petrarchan manner. The Prologue exhibits general affinities to many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poems. Genius, who gives his advice as confessor to the narrator of the poem, derives from Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. In Gower's long poem, Genius shrives the penitent lover of his sins and instructs him in the points of shrift. And behind Gower are Jean de Meun's continuation of the *Roman de la Rose*, and *The Plaint of Kind* by Alanis ab Insulis. In both these works occurs the character Genius. The *Roman* probably suggested the use of Genius to Gower, who in turn imparted it to Robert Shyngleton. The significance of Genius in ancient, medieval, and Renaissance literature as a universal god of generation, as opposed to our modern conception of genius as an intellectual endowment of the individual man, is indicated by St. Augustine in *The City of God*, vii, 13. Genius, the generative god, appears again as the Senex of Claudian's *Consulship of Stilicho*, ii, 432 ff., and it is significant that Claudian's Senex has assumed what might almost be called the secretarial duties of Shyngleton's Genius. In Martianus Capella's fifth-century *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*

⁹⁸ Foxwell, II, 172.

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(Eloquence and Learning), the reproductive function of Genius is ignored, but his singleness, as opposed to the host of medieval genii, is stressed.⁹⁹ When we come to Bernardus Sylvestris, the leader of the twelfth-century philosophical poets of Chartres, we are well on the way to Shyngleton's use of Genius. In the work of Bernardus Sylvestris, *De mundi universitate sive megacosmus et microcosmus*, the female longing of matter to receive the form is the poet's chief theme. Genius is the ouisiarch of the fixed stars "qui diversis speciebus diversas formas facit." Bernardus's Genius is thus the ancestor of the Genius in *The Plaint of Kind*, the patron of generation and heterosexuality. And from the *Plaint* of Alanus comes the Genius of Jean de Meun. From Jean, Gower drew¹⁰⁰ and was in turn drawn on by Shyngleton. Finally, from who knows what sources, Spenser took the figure of Genius and included it in Acrasia's Bower of Bliss. Spenser writes:

. but in the Porch there sate
A comely personage of stature tall,
And semblaunce pleasing, more then naturall,
That travelers to him seemd to entize:
His looser garment to the ground did fall,
And flew about his heeles in wanton wize,
Not fit for speedy pace, or manly exercize,
They in that place him Genius did call:
Not that celestiall powre, to whom the care
Of life, and generation of all
That lives, pertaines in charge particulare,
Who wondrous things concerning our welfare,
And straunge phantomes doth lett us ofte foresee,
And ofte of secret ill bids us beware:
That is our Selfe, whom though we do not see,
Yet each doth in him selfe it well perceive to bee.

Therefore a God him sage Antiquity
Did wisely make, and good Agdistes call;
But this same was to that quite contrary,
The foe of life, that good envyes to all,
That secretly doth us procure to fall
Through guilefull semblants which he makes us see:

⁹⁹ C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (London, 1936), pp. 361-363.

¹⁰⁰ For another correspondence of Martianus Capella and the Prologue to the *Court*, compare *De nuptiis Philogiae et Mercurii*, Liber VIII, part 851, "Mercurium Stilbonta nominarunt"; with Prologue, p. 116, ll. 23 f.

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He of this Gardin had the governall,
And Pleasures porter was devized to bee,
Holding a staffe in hand for more formalitee.

With diverse flowres he daintily was deckt,
And strowed rownd about; and by his side
A mighty Mazer bowle of wine was sett,
As if it had to him bene sacrifice,
Wherewith all new-come guests he gratyfide:
So did he eke Sir Guyon passing by;
But he his ydle curtesie defide,
And overthrew his bowle disdainfully,
And broke his staffe with which he charmed semblants sly.¹⁰¹

The wheel has come full circle. The generative god of the early writers and the beneficent counselor of the Prologue to *The Court of Venus* has become for Spenser a baleful figure, the symbol of immorality and wantonness—the symbol, in fine, of the old tradition of courtly love which Spenser repudiates.¹⁰² Thus the Prologue is a kind of half-way house, in which the Genius of the older poetry becomes personalized and recognizable in an earthy sense, but in which he is clothed with a beneficence that will soon be torn away. Characteristically, as a poet, Shyngleton looks backward, and his conception of the generative god who puts on mortality is a dying one.

The Prologue to *The Court of Venus* is an excellent illustration of that great medieval heresy, the assumption by secular love of the rites and metaphors peculiar to the love of the Christian deity. In the Prologue we are witness to one of the last expressions of the elaborate parodying of Christianity which confounded priestly confession with the lover's shrift and elevated the lady to the supreme place of worship occupied traditionally by God. In *The Court of Love* the conventional May-morning song of the birds in honor of love paraphrases the matins for Trinity Sunday. In the Prologue to *The Court of Venus* the lover's recital "Of my

¹⁰¹ *The Faerie Queene*, II, xii, 46-49.

¹⁰² See, however, the different picture of Genius as the porter of the Garden of Adonis (*F.Q.*, III, vi, 31-33) who clothes with flesh "A thousand thousand naked babes"; and as the "glad Genius" of *Epithalamion* (ll.398-404), "in whose gentle hand/ The bridale bowre and geniall bed remaine." See also Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment Given to King James*, in which Genius figures as god of hospitality, pleasure, generation, and place (*The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, London, 1873, pp. 271 ff., 274, 280, 322 ff.).

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true seruyce to my lady deare," his repentance and consolation by Genius, and the promise of Genius to intercede for him parody the Christian rites of prayer, confession, and sacramental grace, and even the Christian conception of the guardian angel. This last parallel is especially interesting, for in medieval tradition Genius is sometimes characterized as tutelary spirit or guardian angel rather than as the god of generation.

The kindly Genius of the Prologue, Venus, and the disconsolate lover, all derive from the *Confessio Amantis*. But Shyngleton's characters have other affinities as well. Thus the advice of Genius to the lover in the seventh stanza of the Prologue, to seek redress from his complaint in writing, parallels the advice of the old man to Hoccleve in the Prelude to *The Rule of Princes*, written like the Prologue in rime royal. Shyngleton's Genius, in his role of tutelary guide, resembles also Philobone of *The Court of Love*. The introduction of gods and goddesses from Greek mythology, such as Jupiter, Mercury, Minos and Diana, and classical allusions like that to "the mount of Cethro, wher Venus doth dwel," are in the tradition of Chaucerian and Renaissance narrative verse. And the anachronistic references to "the parlyment" are equally characteristic of the English poetry of the time, with its confounding of classical and contemporary terminology.

Stanzas eleven through thirteen interrupt the placidly conventional tone of the Prologue with a curious recital by the narrator of strange news out of Venus' court. Genius has said "That loue without charitie, should be put down." This not too startling sentiment keynotes an attack, given for us by the narrator, on "periured persons" who "resort/ Unto the court of Venus." The object of the attack is not perfectly clear: presumably the clergy is meant, for persons bound to Diana (that is, professing celibacy) and yet patronizing Venus are stigmatized. Perhaps we have in the Prologue a veiled attack on the venality of the English Church.

A promise by the narrator in the penultimate stanza of the Prologue to describe the court of Venus is not fulfilled. Did a long rime-royal section follow the stanzas we have, and was it excised by the printer? Or was the narrator's promise fulfilled in those unknown leaves that followed the ones that survive? We can only conjecture. What we do have is not a continuation of the Prologue, but a collection of Court poems. For the most part, I find

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in these poems a homogeneity of tone that indicates a single author, or a group of studious imitators, of considerable sophistication and probable acquaintance with court life. The themes in these poems are well known, tiresomely so, to readers of sixteenth-century love poetry. The lover despairs of winning his mistress, but he is unable to leave off pursuing her. He pleads slavishly with his beloved to accept him, but is deeply afraid lest she do him some terrible injury. Again, he is caught inextricably by the lady's charms, and reproaches Fortune for the pass to which he has been brought. The desolation of the lover is dwelt on continuously: he would welcome even death as a release from his misery. And of course the extreme cruelty of the mistress, and the pangs of love for which she is responsible, are pictured in great detail. Though in one poem the lover has no hope, in another he is confident that his mistress' pity will prevail on her to accept him. Complete prostration of the lover before his lady and the idolatry of the female characterize many of these poems. The poems are conventional, to be sure, and the idolatry more poetic than real, but the cult of the *Frauendienst* survives in the extravagance of the lover's worship. It is easy to see why the reformers attacked *The Court of Venus* so bitterly. We need not invent an earlier, scandalous *Court* to account for "the universal opprobrium" heaped on the editions that survive by Hall and Becon and the others. For the reformers, as practicing Christians of a Puritanical turn, understood the "perversion" of these poems, if we in a more indifferent age dare use so strong a word.

The most original characteristic of the poems is the attitude of self-control and resignation that is expressed occasionally as if in protest against the prevailing temper of extravagance. Self-control and a kind of ironic good sense are peculiar to Sir Thomas Wyatt among earlier sixteenth-century love poets. These characteristics establish him as the most interesting poet of his time and secure for him a place higher than Surrey's, even though the latter's fluency of expression is manifestly superior. In the *Court* poems, though the lover fails to win his mistress, he resigns her in the wonderfully civilized manner of "Since there's no help, come, let us kiss and part." In "Now must I lern to faine" the poet's resignation is complete, without verging on what might be called a religious excess, as in Sidney's "Leave me, O Love, which

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reachest but to dust." "My lute awake" illustrates Wyatt's restraint in parting, but the poem is tinged with the conventional reproach of the lady:

And then may chaunce the to repent
The time that thou hast lost and spent.

One thinks of another sixteenth-century poet, Ronsard, and his lines beginning "Quand vous serez bien vielle au soir à la chandelle." "My penne take payne" is quite in Wyatt's "manly" style of laconic renunciation, and "Loue whom you lyst and spare not" is almost of the Restoration in its well-bred indifference. Indeed, one might say that Wyatt, when he writes in this manner, is an early, greater Rochester, without the license.

In many of the poems, a refrain or a simple phrase recurs, a characteristic of Wyatt's work. The personalizing of the pen, the lute, and the heart is a conceit common to love poetry of the age, and the elaborate play on words in the last stanza of "Meruaile no more al tho" might be called an early symptom of a distressing sixteenth-century disease.

The Pilgrim's Tale has to recommend it neither the archaic charm of the Prologue nor the airiness and sophistication of the poems. However, a dogged earnestness and heavy-footed sincerity that is somehow accentuated by the parade of clumsy couplets serve to redeem the *Tale* for modern readers. *The Pilgrim's Tale* is interesting, too, for allusions to Chaucer and the Arthurian legend. On the recto and verso of E₃ are the lines:

wher this man [a monk] walked there was no farey.
ner other spiritis for his blessynges
and mumbling of his holy thinges
did vanquyche them from euery buch and tre.
there is no nother incubus but he
for chaucer sathe in the sted of the quen elfe.
[ther walketh now the limitour himself]
for whan that the incubus dyd fle
yt was to bringe .vii. worse than he
& that is the cause there beyn now no fareys
in hallis bowris kechyns ner deyris.

Chaucer's lines are from *The Wife of Bath's Tale*:

In th' olde dayes of the king Arthour,
Of which that Britons speken greet honour,

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Al was this land fulfild of fayerye.
The elf-queen, with hir joly companye,
Daunced ful ofte in many a grene mede;
This was the olde opinion, as I rede.
I speke of manye hundred yeres ago;
But now can no man see none elves mo.
For now the grete charitee and prayeres
Of limitours and othere holy freres,
That serchen every lond and every stroom,
As thikke as motes in the sonne-beem,
Blessinge halles, chambres, kichenes, boures,
Citees, burghes, castels, hye toures,
Thropes, bernes, shipnes, dayeryes,
This maketh that ther been no fayeryes.
For ther as wont to walken was an elf,
Ther walketh now the limitour himself
In undermeles and in morweninges,
And seyth his matins and his holy thinges
As he goth in his limitacioun.
Wommen may go now sauflly up and down
In every bussh or under every tree;
Ther is noon oother incubus but he,
And he ne wol doon hem but dishonour.¹⁰³

Furnivall remarked that many Chaucerian phrases from *The Canterbury Tales* and the Prologue occurred in *The Pilgrim's Tale*. And indeed, the solemn monk, whom the narrator of the *Tale* humorously mistakes for a drone bee, reminds one of Chaucer's Friar. Neither monk nor Friar, one feels, would have anything to do with people of low degree. The daintiness of the monk at table is stressed, too, making us think of that dainty creature, Chaucer's Prioress, whose manners were as fastidious as her bigotries were crude. Like Chaucer's Monk, the comely priest of the *Tale* is shod in boots that "sat cleyn and claspyd feytuosly." The characterization of Christ, "and first he dyd yt, and after he taght," recalls not only the Parson of *The Canterbury Tales*¹⁰⁴ but perhaps reflects, too, Langland's conception of Christ in *Piers Plowman* as one who excelled both as teacher and doer. And we

¹⁰³ *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), p. 101, ll. 857-881.

¹⁰⁴ The Parson's Prologue is drawn on specifically at l. 26 by p. 92, l. 18 of the *Tale*.

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have seen that *The Pilgrim's Tale* on sig. F7^v cites six lines from *The Romaunt of the Rose*.¹⁰⁵

Mention of the prophecies of Merlin and other seers in the *Tale* is evidence of the continuing interest of the people in these prophecies in the early years of the sixteenth century. The same monk who occasions the allusion to *The Wife of Bath's Tale* inspires an allusion to King Arthur on sig. E3:

The cronikis old from Kynge Arthur.
he could reherse and of his founder
tell full many a whorthy story.

Indeed, it is the extensive use of prophecy that makes the *Tale* an intriguing, if vastly perplexing, study. The English or Galfridian prophecy, deriving from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Book of Merlin*, and employing animals and birds in the stead of men and women, is represented most frequently. Concerning itself with actual politics, the Galfridian prophecy became a powerful weapon in the hands of skilful propagandists. In the fifteenth-century Anglo-French version of *The Six Kings*, for instance, the league of the Percies, Glendower, and Mortimer had been prophesied in the guise of the Lion, the Wolf, and the Dragon, all three of which figure in *The Pilgrim's Tale*. That reference to such traditions promised a dangerous popularity for the *Tale* is very nearly certain, and is indicated by its subsequent suppression. The Crown had good reason to view this genre with alarm, for its popularity became unmistakable after the introduction of printing. Beginning with Wynkyn de Worde's *A Lytel Tretys of the Byrth and Prophecyes of Merlin* in 1510 (reissued by him in 1529, and by John Hawkins in 1533),¹⁰⁶ prophecies of Merlin were issued at frequent intervals thereafter until a statute of Henry VIII made them no longer expedient. That popular interest continued in vigor, however, is shown by the widespread belief in portents, a less dangerous but kindred form of the political prophecy, throughout the century.¹⁰⁷ Yet if, after all, the reader's enthusiasm remains un-

¹⁰⁵ For further correspondences, compare *Tale*, p. 89, l. 8 and *Romaunt*, l. 1235; *Tale*, p. 92, ll. 23 f. and *Romaunt*, ll. 6795 f.

¹⁰⁶ See *The Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*, vol. XXXVI, columns 249-260, for a list of books dealing with Merlin.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Llewellyn M. Buell, "Elizabethan Portents: Superstition or Doctrine?" in *Essays Critical and Historical Dedicated to Lily B. Campbell* (1950), pp. 27-41.

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stirred, he is enjoined to heed Furnivall's remark that "a manuscript or black-letter man can never look without sympathy on just a few leaves sav'd from a large book that was once read and car'd for by numbers of his countrymen in Tudor days."¹⁰⁸

But without doubt the chief interest of *The Pilgrim's Tale* to modern readers is its anticlerical tone. The long rime-royal exclamation against Satan that interrupts the narrative is of little account artistically, but the vigor and force of its strokes are undeniable.¹⁰⁹ If the *Tale* has no literary interest, we may still value it as a straw in the stream of Reformation. *The Pilgrim's Tale* takes its place with Skelton's *Colin Clout* as a document that reflects the spirit of the early decades of the century, a spirit that was always troubled and was sometimes heroic.

¹⁰⁸ *Animaduersions*, p. xlvi.

¹⁰⁹ Significantly, both *Plowman's Tale* and *Shipman's Prologue* are levied to reinforce the attack on the clergy. Compare *Pilgrim's Tale*, p. 89, ll. 9 f., with *Plowman's Tale*, ll. 17-22 (p. 147 in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, ed. Skeat, Oxford, 1897); and *Pilgrim's Tale*, p. 91, ll. 10-13, with *Shipman's Prologue*, ll. 20 f.

Also utilized is Higden's *Polychronicon*: compare vol. III, cap. III, p. 122, "et filius perditionis dicitur et dicetur" (a passage which depends ultimately on John 17:12), with *Pilgrim's Tale*, p. 94, l. 3.

6. Influence

The first testimony to the influence of *The Court of Venus* is John Hall's *Certain Chapters of the Proverbs Translated into Meter*,¹¹⁰ printed by Thomas Raynald in 1550. In his preface to the reader, Hall says:

. . . doo thou also exercyse thy selfe in synging, ryming, and talking of the Prouerbes of Salomon, and Psalmes of David, & other Chapters of the holy scripture, as is cōtained in this lytle boke, or the workes of other men more learned, which for theyr doynges haue as moche deserued to be commēded, as he, what soeuer he was that made y^e court of Venus or other bokes of lecherous Ballades, the whyche haue bene a greate occasiō to prouoke men to the desyre of synne, where as in these workes thou shalt learne to fle from euyl company, frō dronckenes & dronkardes, from couetousnes & slouthfulnes, frō wrathe and enuy, frō whoredom & all the subtile behaiours of whores, w^t pryde, yea, and fynallye frō al wickednes & sinne, withal maner of instructiōs y^t belong to a pure & godly lyfe, & I besече almighty god, y^t these endustreus labors may geue exāples to al . . . and y^t yōge womē may haue y^e grace to geue as diligēt care, & haue as moch delight in vertue, as in vyce, for it is so now, that he whych cā not swere, & fighte, & talke al maner of baudry, he is not mete to come in y^e cōpany of womē, for thei haue a prety name for soch a one, thei will cal him, Jhon hold my staf, but I wold to god these gygolat gerles were as apte to learne vertuous thīges, as they be to mock and floute mē, & to take thē at y^e worst, or as wel learned in vertue & godlines as they be in y^e court of Venus, & as they be in dyinge of theyr heyre yelow, & thē to brayde & curle it w^t bodkins & laye it out to be sene, & to paynte their faces, in doying of the which they gloot & put out y^e ymage of God . . . o ye men of god, al ye y^t loke for, & belue to haue saluatiō let al your myrth & ioye be to prayse & magnify y^e name of y^e luying god, like as the holy prophet of god, King David, doth admonishe you in the .xxxiii. Psalm, sayinge: be glad ye righteous for y^e lordes sake, for prayse becometh iust

¹¹⁰ S.T.C. 12631—*Certain chapters takē out of the Prouerbes of Salomō, wyth other chapters of the holy Scripture: & certayne psalmes of David, translated into English metre, by John Hall. Whych prouerbes of late were set forth, Imprinted and untruely entituled, to be thee doynges of Mayster Thomas Sternhold, late grome of the Kynges Maiesties robes, as by thys Coppe it maybe be perceaued.* M.D.L.

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mē, magnify y^e lord in prayse w^t harpe & lute, sing unto the lord w^t ten stringed instrumētis, sing ye unto him a new dytie, tune it swetely wythe ioyefull Melodye, &c.

Naye David, nay, Saythe oure Englyshe menne, thou arte an unwyse man, thy wordes are spente in waeste, whyche thou speakest unto us, for we haue songes made by wyse & learned men in the court of Venus, y^u art gods minstrel, & makest melody wyth spiritual songes to hys prayse, but we wyl sing songes of loue to the goddes of lechery, but harke I saye, and be turned you wycked mē, and folow the council of Dauid . . . & in our myrth it is manifest what our doynge are, for our tongues are of the court of Venus, yea, and rather worsse.

Hall does not mention *The Court of Venus* in the 1549 edition of the *Proverbs*, also printed by Raynald. The omission of an attack on the *Court* leads us to believe that he was influenced by an edition appearing between 1549 and 1550. In 1565, the year before his death, Hall published a second attack on profane or lay poetry, *The Court of Virtue*.¹¹¹ None of the surviving copies of this work has a title page, but a record in the Stationers' Register for 22 July 1564-22 July 1565 gives us what must have been the title of Hall's book: "Receued of Thomas marshe for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled *The Courtie of Vertu contaynyng many holy or spretuall songes Sonnettes psalmes ballettes short sentences as well of holy scriptures as others*."¹¹² And a later Stationers' Register entry, for 22 July 1566-22 July 1567, licenses Thomas Marshe to print several books, among them *The Court of Virtue*, for which he was in arrears. In *The Court of Virtue* there are moral parodies of some of Wyatt's best poems, "My lute awake," "My penne take payne," and "Blame not my lute." The first of these poems occurs in *Songs and Sonnets*. Two are found in *The Court of Venus*, "My lute awake" and "My penne take payne." The second of the poems is printed in *The Court of Venus* alone and in no other book. Hall's source for "Blame not my lute" is matter for conjecture: perhaps this poem, too, had appeared in the complete *Court of Venus*. Hall was therefore moralizing *The Court of Venus* as well as *Songs and Sonnets* in his 1565 *Court of Virtue*. I will give Hall's version of the two *Court of Venus* poems here:

¹¹¹ S.T.C. 12632.

¹¹² I, 268.

THE COURT OF VENUS

My lute awake and prayse the lord,
My heart and hādes thereto accord:
Agreeing as we haue begon,
To syng out of gods holy worde.
And so procede tyll we haue done.

Prayse we the lord in this our song,
And syng it Christen men among,
That in a godly race doe ronne:
The whiche although it be not long,
Shall be right good or it be donne.

This pleasant song shall not song be,
To the goddesse of lechery:
Nor to nothyng under the Sunne,
But praysing of the almighty,
My lute and I tyll we haue done.

This teacheth vs Dauid the Kyng,
With harpe and lute geue God praysing,
All men that in this worlde doe wonne
To God therefore geue prayse and syng,
As my lute and I haue begonne.

This lord first made al things of nought,
And when against his lawe we wrought
From heauen he sent downe his sonne:
Whiche with his gospell vs all taught,
After the whiche we haue not donne.

Although in man weare nothyng good
Hym to redeme Christ shed his blood,
with thornes y^e Jues our lord did crown,
He suffered death vpon the rood:
Lo thus our sauynge health was donne.

On this therfore we fix our fayth,
That Jesus Christ (as scriptur sayth)
Is only our saluation.
Upon this rocke who so him stayth,
Thus sayth the lord it is well don.

But one thing sore my harte doth greue
That hipocrites made vs beleue
In Idols both of wodde and stone:
From Christ our rock they did vs dryue,
Wo be to them what haue they done.

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Whiche canker still within their heartes,
Doth yet remayne and fewe conuertes:
For at gods worde they frete and frown,
Therefore my lute it is our partes
Them to rebuke as we haue done.

God sent his worde vnto this ende,
That we our synfull lyues should mende:
And yet repenteth fewe or none:
My lute therefore let vs intende
To say the truthe tyll we haue done.

If in our songe we should recyte,
Howe eche estate doth not vpright:
(Whiche will be their confusion,)
Which knowe the truthe and do not ryght.
My lute when should our song be done.

But to be short my hartes intent,
Is to prayse God omnipotent,
Whoe of our helth the thred hath spunne,
And hath his worde to vs nowe sent,
To mende our lyues tyll we haue done.

Mans soule to saue Christ died therfore,
Who of vs men doth aske no more:
But this lesson to lerne and conne,
With loue to kepe his holy lore:
In whiche all perfect workes are donne.

Lorde graunt vs to thy worde to cleaue,
That no man other doe deceaue:
And in that zeale that I begunne,
Lauding our lorde God here I leaue,
Be styll my lute my song is done [sigs. M₂^v-M₄].

My pen obey my wyll a whyle
Till I see good to ende this stile:
For if all men would sinne abhore
Such songs we nede not to compile,
Nor my pen should write so no more.

If all men of their worde were true,
Promis to kepe and paye their due:
What nede had pennes to worke therfore?

THE COURT OF VENUS

But sythe no whyght wyll truthe ensue:
Pennes were as good to wryte no more.

Pennes are abusde, and that dayly,
About all craft and vsury:
We may well say alas therfore.
And yet least we make them angry
It semes as good to wryte no more.

Yet let vs shewe the lordes intent,
Howe that for gaynes nought should be lent,
All falshod God wyll plage ryght sore.
And yet my penne least we be shent,
It semes as good to wryte no more.

For all in vayne we speake scripture,
To suche as wyll in synne endure:
For they amende neuer the more,
But hate all godly counsayle pure,
That warneth them to synne no more.

Yet if all men with suche pretence,
Should cease to shewe their conscience,
They should transgresse gods holy lore.
Yet sythe none wyll it reuerence,
It semes as good to wryte no more.

The scripture thus doth specific
In Dauids psalmes, blessed is he,
That lendeth frely ryche and poore.
Without all gayne of vsury:
Yet doe they vse it styll the more.

Though some for writing wyl vs blame,
Those crafty men, whome we not name,
These false gotte goodes they must restore,
To those of whom they got the same,
Or els be damnde for euer more.

For though some men haue bene er thys,
In vsury that dyd amys,
And haue bene warnde of it before:
That doo repent fewe there ys,
But rather vse it more and more.

But sure in hell theyr bed is made,
And all that vse of crafte the trade

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Are lyke the same to rue ryght sore:
In crafte and guyle yet syth they wade,
It were as good to wryte no more.

God graunt as in this song is ment,
We may amende all and repent:
Rootyng out vyce to the harde core,
To serue the lorde omnipotent,
In loue and truthe for euermore [sigs. N5^v - N6^v].

On sigs. B5^v-B6^v of the Prologue to *The Court of Virtue*, Hall attacks *The Court of Venus* explicitly. He describes the royal Lady Virtue, and she explains to the poet how he may help her by collecting Christian hymns for men to sing.

A booke also of songes they haue,
And Venus court they doe it name.
No fylthy mynde a song can craue,
But therein he may finde the same:
And in suche songes is all their game.
Whereof ryght dyuers bookes be made,
To nurysh that moste fylthy trade.

In the Prologue also Hall tells us that one of the muses of the Christian Poet is Temperance. Mrs. Stopes observed that Edward VI called Elizabeth his "sweet sister Temperance."¹¹³ Perhaps Hall intended his Christian muse as a compliment to the queen, though much of *The Court of Virtue* was probably compiled in the early 1550's before Elizabeth came to the throne. Also moralized by Hall is the poem "Lyke as the lark within the marlians foote," found in *Songs and Sonnets* and imitated by George Turberville in the 1567 *Epitaphes* and by Brian Melbancke in *Philotimus*, 1583. We may wonder if Hall's moral parody was not influenced by *The Court of Venus* rather than by *Songs and Sonnets*. My own feeling is that, though *The Court of Virtue* was partly compiled in the 1550's, additions were made to Hall's book from time to time up to 1564. I believe therefore that Hall was influenced not only by an early *Court of Venus*, but that *Songs and Sonnets* and the Folger *Court* were objects of his attack, too.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ "The Metrical Psalms and 'The Court of Venus,'" *Athenaeum*, June 24, 1899, p. 785.

¹¹⁴ For information on John Hall, see Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannica* (London, 1748), p. 372; William Thomas Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, ed. Henry G. Bohn (London, 1859), IV, 978;

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The work of Thomas Brice falls into the moralizing tradition even more explicitly than that of Hall. In the Stationers' Register for 22 July 1566-22 July 1567 we find the entry "Receuyed of *hewgh shyngleton* for his lycense for pryntinge of *the Couurte* of VENUS *moralized* by THOMAS BRYCE . . . iiiij^d."¹¹⁵ Warton mentions Brice's moralization in 1566 of "I suppose a ballad,"¹¹⁶ but we may assume that the "Ballad" was in fact the Marshe edition of *The Court of Venus*. We can only lament that the book of Brice does not survive, for it would be an invaluable help in determining the contents of the *Court*. Not content with moralizing the *Court*, Brice turned a year later to Tottel's book, and swung his reforming ax on it, too. In the Stationers' Register for 22 July 1567-22 July 1568 there is the entry "Receuyd of *henry Bynnyman* for his lycense for the prynting of a boke intituled *songes and Sonnetes* by THOMAS BRYCE iiiij^d."¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, this work by Brice does not survive either. We do have a ballad entered for Brice by Edmund Halley, bookseller, between 22 July 1561 and 24 July 1562.¹¹⁸ This piece, "Against filthy writing and such like delighting" was printed by John Allde and was reprinted by Collier in *Old Ballads* for the Percy Society.¹¹⁹ Brice asks:

What mean the rimes that run thus large in every shop to sell:

 "Tel me is Christ, or Cupide Lord? doth God or Venus reigne?
 And whose are wee? whom ought wee serue? I aske it, answere
 plaine
 If wanton Venus, then go forth, if Cupide, keep your trade
 If God, or Christ, come back the best, or sure you will be made."

Brice insists: "We are not foes to musicke wee, a mis your man doth take vs" and explains "But, substance onely I regarde."¹²⁰

Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, I, 550, 588, II, 805 f.; Warton's *History of English Poetry*, III, 181; *D.N.B.*, XXIV (1890), 69 f.

¹¹⁵ I, 343. For information on the notorious Hugh Singleton (1548-1592), see Duff, *Century*, p. 148; Roberts's *Printers' Marks*, p. 82; Herbert's *Antiquities*, II, 740; Froude's *History of England*, XI, 180 f.

¹¹⁶ *History of English Poetry*, IV, 178.

¹¹⁷ I, 359.

¹¹⁸ (1840), p. 50.

¹¹⁸ I, 181.

¹²⁰ *Ballads & Broad-sides chiefly of the Elizabethan Period and Printed in Black-Letter*, Herbert L. Collmann, ed., Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1912), pp. 36 f., No. 13.

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I think that we have in this ballad a further influence of *The Court of Venus* on Brice. If this influence was Marshe's *Court*, we would have to conclude that the Folger fragment appeared in 1561 or 1562, as it may possibly have done. But the influence may have been another *Court*, perhaps one on which Marshe drew for his edition in the sixties.¹²¹

The first recorded influence of *The Court of Venus* after Hall's *Proverbs* is an attack on the *Court* in *The Dial of Princes*, first published in 1557.¹²² Sir Thomas North, unlike Hall and Brice, did not moralize poems in the *Court*; he simply attacked it. On sig. b2^v of the General Prologue North writes:

I do not speake it withoute a cause, that manye bookes deserue to be broken and burnte. For there are so many that without shame and honestie doe set forthe bookes of loue of the worlde, at this daye as boldely, as if they taught them to dispise and speake euil of the world. It is pitye to see how many dayes and nightes be consumed in reading vayne bookes (that is to say) as Orson and Valentine, the Courte of Venus, & the .iiii. sonnes of Amon, and diuerse other vaine bokes, by whose doctrine I dare boldlye say, they passe not the time but in perdition: for they learne not how they oughte to flye vice, but rather what way they may with more pleasour embrace it.

In the 1568 edition of *The Dial of Princes*, revised and corrected by North, with a fourth book entitled *The Favored Courtier*, the attack on "vayne bookes" is retained. The 1568 edition, interestingly enough, was printed by Tottel and Marshe. The latter printer, who issued *The Court of Virtue*, seems to have thrived by posing "lay" songs against religious protests. Tottel brought out *The Dial of Princes* again in 1582, and Bernard Alsop printed it in 1619, still with the reference to *The Court of Venus*.¹²³

In Richard Tottel's *Songs and Sonnets*, first published in 1557, there occur numerous examples within the book itself of imitations

¹²¹ For information on Thomas Brice, see *D.N.B.* (1886), VI, 311 f.; W. C. Hazlitt, *Hand-book to the Popular, Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain, from the Invention of Printing to the Restoration* (London, 1867), p. 61.

¹²² S.T.C. 12427—*The Diall of Princes, Compiled by the Reuerende father in God, Don Anthony of Gueuara, Bysshop of Guadix. Preacher and cronicler to Charles the fyft Emperour of Rome. Englysshed out of the Frenche, by Thomas North, seconde sonne of the Lorde North. Ryght necessary and pleasaunt, to all gentylmen and others whiche are louers of vertue. Anno. 1557. London, John Waylande.*

¹²³ For information on Thomas North, see *D.N.B.*, XLI (1895), 179 f.

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by one poet of another. Surrey's borrowings from Wyatt and John Heywood are one illustration. Even more numerous are the borrowings, extending to outright plagiarizing of thought and exact phraseology, of the uncertain authors from Wyatt and Surrey.¹²⁴ How were these borrowings possible? We may assume perhaps that Surrey and the crowd of uncertain authors had personal intercourse with Wyatt, or were fortunate enough to secure access to the Wyatt manuscripts. I suggest that some of the borrowings, at least, were made possible by the availability of *The Court of Venus* in printed form, with poems by Wyatt and others that all might peruse—and pilfer from. *The Court of Venus*, then, may have exerted influence on *Songs and Sonnets*.

Thomas Becon was forced to make public recantation of heresy in 1543 with Robert Shyngleton, the author of the Prologue to *The Court of Venus*. It is ironic that Becon should have been, of those influenced by the *Court*, one of the most virulent in his attacks on it; ironic that what was at its inception a fiercely Protestant book, at least in part, should have become as time passed fair game for Protestant reformers. Becon's attack is found on sig. 3A2^v of *The Book of Matrimony*,¹²⁵ included in the *Works* of 1564:

Likewise the Lacedemonians bothe banyshed Archilochus the Poet, and also burnt his bookes, althoughe neuer so learned and eloquent, because they woulde not haue the mindes of their youthe and other Citezens corrupted and defiled by the reding of them. These mē shall rise up against us English men at the day of judgement, whych banishe not, nor burn not, but rather Print, publishe, set forth and sell baudy balades and filthy bookes unto the corruption of the reders, as *the court of Venus*, and such like wanton bookes.

In the margin to the left of this passage "The Court of Venus" is printed. A further irony appears in Becon's apparent lack of consciousness that one of the contributors to the "filthy book" was the same Sir Thomas Wyatt to whom he had dedicated his *New Policy of War* in 1542. In this work Wyatt is praised as one who

¹²⁴ See Heinrich Kolbe, *Metrische Untersuchungen über die Gedichte der "Uncertain Authors"* in "Tottel's Miscellany," Marburg dissertation (1902), pp. 3-5, and the notes to Surrey's poems in *Tottel's Miscellany*.

¹²⁵ S.T.C. 1710—*The booke of Matrimony both profitable and comfortable for all them, that intende quietly and godly to lyve in the holy state of honorable wedlocke: Newly made, and now firste of all publyshed by Thomas Becon.*

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had "embrased not only the studies of humane letters, but also the grave exercises of divine literature." We wonder which edition of the *Court* influenced Becon, for the *Works* were registered in 1560 before the Folger fragment was printed. Obviously, both Becon and North were attacking another edition, perhaps one that was contemporaneous with their writings and is now lost.¹²⁶

Edward Dering was a reformer with many of the characteristics of John Hall. Hot-tempered, impetuous, and bold to the point of rashness, he was influenced to include an attack on *The Court of Venus* in his 1572 *Brief Instruction*¹²⁷ by the "baudy," "shameless" quality of the songs in the *Court*. In the preface "To the Christian Reader" Dering¹²⁸ castigates "prophane" books and says:

To this purpose we have printed us many baudie Songes, (I am loth to use such a lothsome worde, save that it is not fitte enough for so vile endeavours.) To this purpose we have gotten our Songs & Sonets, our Pallaces of Pleasure, our vnchast Fables, & Tragedies, and such like sorceries, moe then any man may reckon. Yea, some have bin so impudent, as new borne Moabites, which walow in their own vomit, & have not bine ashamed to entitle their books the court of Venus, the Castle of Love, & many such other as shameles as these.

Only as to extent is there a question of the influence of *The Court of Venus* on the poetical miscellanies of the century. In the most popular of these miscellanies, *The Paradise of Dainty De-vices*,¹²⁹ there occur at least two passages analogous to lines in the *Court*. One of these, "The Marble stone, is pearst at length," is from "Mans flitting life," and is signed with the initials M. T. (Master John Thorn).¹³⁰ In "My Lute Awake," common to both Folger and Stark, this line is anticipated in slightly different form: "A[s] lead to graue in a marble stone./ My song may perse, heart as sone." But the observation is a commonplace, and is to be found in many other sixteenth-century books. Again, the *Paradise* seems,

¹²⁶ For information on Thomas Becon, see *D.N.B.*, IV (1885), 92-94; *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, I, 247-249, where all 47 of his works are listed.

¹²⁷ *S.T.C.* 6676—*A Brieve and Necessarie Catachisme Or Instruction. Verie needeful to bee knowne of all householders. Whereby they may the better teache and instructe their families, insuch pointes of Christian Religion as is most meete.*

¹²⁸ For information on Edward Dering, see *D.N.B.*, XIV (1888), 393-395; *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, I, 356 f., where Dering's works are listed.

¹²⁹ (1576-1606), ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1927).

¹³⁰ P. 23, l. 19.

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in its use of the line "Who likes that love, that chaungeth still for newe"¹³¹ to echo the similar "Forsake me neuer for no new" in Folger's "Disdain me not."

Compiled by Richard Edwards, the distinguished lyricist and playwright, before his death on October 31, 1556, the *Paradise* went through at least ten editions, of which nine survive. About the time it was being prepared, there was published the first edition of another miscellany, devoted to broadside ballads. This was *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, "by Clement Robinson and Divers Others."¹³² Although this miscellany was actually issued in 1566, only a subsequent edition, that of 1584, survives. Not only did *A Handful* exert considerable influence on *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*,¹³³ but it was itself influenced by *The Court of Venus*. In "A faithfull vow of two constant Louers" occurs the line "But all is one with me,"¹³⁴ reflecting the *Court's* "For all is one with me."¹³⁵ More notably, the famous farewell ballad of George Mannington, "I waile in wo, I plunge in pain," which is included in *A Handful*, seems definitely to draw on Stark's "My Lute Awake" (ll. 29-30) for the lines "Yea too too late I do repent,/ the youthful yeares that I haue spent."¹³⁶ An illustration of the ramifying influence of the *Court* is found in the paraphrase, in *A Handful*, of Folger's "Forsake me neuer for no new" (l. 11, "Dysdaine me not"): "Or seeke to chaunge for any newe" (p. 54, l. 1553). This line, as we have seen, is picked up by the *Paradise*, and still later by *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*,¹³⁷ probably from Clement Robinson's first edition of 1566. Both the *Paradise* and *A Handful* offer illustrations of the proverb "Beware of had I wist," as does *The Court of Venus*.¹³⁸ But again one is aware of so many other illustrations as to make the fixing of specific indebtedness virtually impossible. Less perplexing is the paraphrasing, in *A Handful*, of Folger's "During of payne and greuous smart": "My paine and all my greeuous smart."¹³⁹ The ballad

¹³¹ P. 41, l. 5.

¹³² (1584), ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1924).

¹³³ *A Handful*, p. xv.

¹³⁴ P. 64, l. 1896.

¹³⁵ P. 127, l. 2.

¹³⁶ P. 65, ll. 1297 f.

¹³⁷ (1578), ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), p. 25, l. 47.

¹³⁸ See "I may by no means surmyse," l. 16; pp. 7, 15 in the *Paradise*; p. 44,

l. 1240 in *A Handful*.

¹³⁹ P. 4, l. 45.

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from which this line is taken, "A Nosegaie alvvaies sweet," was subsequently plagiarized by the author of "The Flattering Louers farewell to his Loue Nanny," and appears in the Pepys Collection,¹⁴⁰ printed by Edward Wright about 1620. Moreover, the Pepys ballad blends its plagiarism of *A Handful* with Folger's "If fantasy would fauour," which it took, not from *The Court of Venus*, but from another of its imitators, *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*.¹⁴¹ It is possible, finally, that *A Handful* drew still further on "If fantasy would fauour" for the lines "She might vnto his loue attaine:/ And that she could not finde some grace."¹⁴²

The *Gorgeous Gallery*, which appeared in 1578, was inspired largely by the success of Clement Robinson's *Handful of Pleasant Delights*. And Robinson's work was the most striking source of poems levied by Thomas Proctor and Owen Roydon, the compilers of the *Gallery*.¹⁴³ As we have seen, a line from the *Gallery*, "And chaunge mee for no new,"¹⁴⁴ reflects *The Court of Venus*, though probably through the intervening influence of *A Handful*. More strikingly still, the *Court* furnished the *Gorgeous Gallery* with a model for the poem "Though Fortune cannot fauor,"¹⁴⁵ and thus, at second hand, exerted its influence over what was ultimately to be known as the Pepys Ballads. Therefore, though *The Court of Venus* exists only in fragments, its position as first cause and inspiration for the miscellanies that succeeded it can nevertheless be charted. Perhaps it exerted an indirect influence on *Songs and Sonnets*, 1557. More certainly, it influenced *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, appearing in 1566 and 1584. Through *A Handful*, and perhaps of itself, it played its part in the compilation of *A Paradise of Dainty Devices*, 1576-1606. In the same manner it influenced *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, 1578. Finally, through the *Gallery*, it reached all the way to the Pepys Ballads of 1620.

In 1583 appeared a euphuistic novel by Brian Melbancke entitled *Philotimus. The War betwixt Nature and Fortune*. The

¹⁴⁰ See *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1929-1932), I, 332.

¹⁴¹ See "Though Fortune cannot fauor," p. 25.

¹⁴² P. 29, ll. 779 f. See Folger, "If fantasy would fauour," ll. 22 f.

¹⁴³ See the *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. xxi.

¹⁴⁴ P. 25, l. 47.

¹⁴⁵ P. 25; see Folger's "If fantasy would fauour."

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title page quite appropriately advertises Melbancke as the "compiler" of this book, and Professor Rollins has shown¹⁴⁶ that *Philotimus* is a melange of whatever Melbancke had the industry to pilfer from other works of the period. Melbancke plagiarized *Songs and Sonnets* extensively, seizing on poems by Surrey, Thomas Norton, probably Churchyard, Canand, and John Heywood, and on a handful of poems by uncertain authors. The author of *Philotimus* found Wyatt to his liking, too, and took over passages from Wyatt's "My lute awake" and "Dysdaine me not."¹⁴⁷ Both of these poems are found in *The Court of Venus*. Melbancke's versions are as follows:

Disdaine me not without desert, nor leaue me not so sodeinly, so do the stony rocks repulse the waues that rush them violently [sig. C2^v].

As to bee hearde where eares are none, or Lead to be grauen in Marble stone, so harde it is to heare counsell of you, which may accorde with any good [sig. Y1^v].

The first theft blends lines from "Dysdaine me not" and "My lute awake"; the second violates "My lute awake" only. We may at least ask whether Melbancke did not borrow from *The Court of Venus* as well as from *Songs and Sonnets*. The two poems are printed in close proximity in the Folger fragment. Perhaps the same arrangement obtained in later editions of the *Court*, thus accounting for Melbancke's blending of the poems. Since the lines which Melbancke plagiarized from "My lute awake" are misprinted in the Folger version, we can be fairly sure that Melbancke did not borrow from Folger. Whether or not he was influenced by a later edition of the *Court* is a question that must be left unanswered.

We are just as unsure whether *The Court of Venus* exerted any influence on a work of the same title by the Scotch poet, John Rolland.¹⁴⁸ The circumstances attending the composition of Rol-

¹⁴⁶ "Notes on Brian Melbancke's *Philotimus*," *Studies in Philology*, Extra Series, No. 1, May, 1929, pp. 40-57; "Notes on the Sources of Melbancke's *Philotimus*," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVIII (1935), 177-198.

¹⁴⁷ As Professor Rollins has shown, in the articles cited in n. 146, Melbancke also plagiarized from other poems in *Songs and Sonnets*. I will indicate Melbancke's thefts by page and line reference to Vol. I of Professor Rollins' edition: 37.35. f.; 71.9 f.; 79.29 ff. (Melbancke plagiarizes the idea of the poem.)

¹⁴⁸ The best discussion of Rolland and his work is found in the Scottish Text Society edition of *The Court of Venus*, ed. Walter Gregor (Edinburgh and London, 1884), pp. vii-xxxii. See also *D.N.B.*, XLIX (1897), 161.

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land's *Court of Venus*¹⁴⁹ are related in Rolland's *The Seven Sages*. This latter work shows us that the *Court* was clearly composed before 1560, though first printed in 1575, and in fact probably dates from the reign of James V (1527-1542). Rolland's *Court of Venus* is a long allegory interspersed with legalistic satire.¹⁵⁰ How could the English ballad book have influenced this vastly different Scotch work? Mrs. Stopes, while conceding that Rolland's *Court* is not directly connected with the English *Court of Venus*, remarks certain similarities in construction between *The Court of Venus* by Rolland and John Hall's *Court of Virtue*. She concludes also that a resemblance in form exists between Rolland's book, Hall's and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.¹⁵¹ Since there is some similarity between *The Court of Virtue* and the English *Court of Venus*, we might conclude that the later work as a whole was related in construction and form to Rolland's *Court of Venus*. We might further surmise that Rolland's original plan, architecturally speaking, was influenced to some extent by the narrative parts of an early edition of *The Court of Venus*.

The bibliographer Thomas Park, whose notes were used by Richard Price in his 1824 edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, was the first to record that "Nashe also in his 'Anatomic of Absurdite,' 1589, passed a censure on Venus' Court."¹⁵² The passage from Nashe is as follows:

So shall the discreet Reader vnderstand the contents by the title, and their purpose by their posie: what els I pray you doe these bable booke-mungers endeour, but to repaire the ruinous wals of *Venus Court*, to restore to the worlde that forgotten Legendary license of lying, to imitate a fresh the fantasticall dreames of those exiled Abbie-lubbers, from whose idle pens proceeded those worne out impressions of the feyned no where acts of Arthur of the rounde table, Arthur of little Brittain, sir Tristram, Hewon of Burdeaux, the Squire of low degree, the foure sons of Amon, with infinite others.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ S.T.C. 21258—*Ane Treatise callit the Court of Venus, dividit into four Buikes newlie compylit by John Rolland in Dalkeith.*

¹⁵⁰ There is a good discussion of Rolland and his *Court of Venus* in the *Allegory of Love*, pp. 292-296.

¹⁵¹ *Athenaeum*, "The Metrical Psalms and 'The Court of Venus,'" June 24, 1899, p. 785.

¹⁵² IV, 250 n.

¹⁵³ *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1904), I.

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In his notes to *The Anatomy of Absurdity*, Nashe's editor McKerrow doubts that "Venus Court" alludes to *The Court of Venus* because that work, McKerrow thought, was printed about 1540. A note of W. C. Hazlitt's, tentatively placing the Folger fragment in 1540,¹⁵⁴ was perhaps the source of McKerrow's error. Since we know that the Folger fragment was printed a generation later, and was probably followed by other editions, we may feel greater assurance that Nashe was influenced by *The Court of Venus* in his attack. Mrs. Stopes observed what may be a further influence on Nashe in ll. 3-4 of *The Court of Venus* poem "I may by no meanes surmyse."¹⁵⁵ The *Court* passage is: "But after the old gyse/ to cal on had I wyst." According to Mrs. Stopes, the phrase "had I wyst" was used critically by Nashe and by a poem in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* entitled "Beware of had I wist."¹⁵⁶ Whether Nashe and the *Paradise* were influenced by *The Court of Venus* in simply using a proverb found in the *Court*, we cannot say. The proverb itself is borrowed from the Latin *non putaram*. Nashe uses it often in a pejorative sense.¹⁵⁷ But the *N.E.D.* gives examples of "had I wist" as early as 1390. Elyot uses it in *The Governor* and Spenser in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*. No direct influence, therefore, of *The Court of Venus* on Nashe's use of the phrase is probable.¹⁵⁸

In 1592 Nicholas Breton's *Pilgrimage to Paradise*¹⁵⁹ added a voice to the chorus of attacks on *The Court of Venus*. A prefatory epistle "To My Honest True Friende Master Nicholas Breton" begins:

It is a needelesse thing (friend Breton) in these our daies to revive the olde art of loving, seeing there are already so many courts of Venus,

¹⁵⁴ *Collections and Notes 1867-1876* (London, 1876), p. 437.

¹⁵⁵ *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 314.

¹⁵⁶ "The Metrical Psalms and 'The Court of Venus,'" *Athenaeum*, June 24, 1899, p. 785.

¹⁵⁷ See *Have With You to Saffron-Waldon*, 1596, III, 26, l. 15; 30, l. 6; *The Praise of the Red Herring*, 1599, III, 219, l. 20; *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, 1600, III, 251, l. 585; 770, l. 1150. References are to volume, page, and line in McKerrow's edition of Nashe.

¹⁵⁸ For a detailed account of Thomas Nashe, see *D.N.B.*, XL (1894), 101-109.

¹⁵⁹ *S.T.C.* 3683—*The Pilgrimage to Paradise, Joyned With The Countesse of Penbrookes love, compiled in verse by Nicholas Breton, Gentleman* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes), 1592.

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so many *Palaces of pleasure*, so many pamphlets or rather hugh volumes of wantō love and daliance.

The epistle is signed "Your friend in true kindnes, John Case, M.D."¹⁶⁰

The first recorded influence of *The Court of Venus* in the seventeenth century is on Arthur Dent's *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*,¹⁶¹ published in the closing years of Elizabeth's long reign, in 1601. In this work Dent pictures a dialogue bewteen four persons: Theologus the preacher (Dent himself?), Asunetus, Philagathus, and Antilegon, the atheist, whose affinities with Bunyan's Mr. Worldly Wise Man are sometimes striking. The core of the dialogue is essentially the wit combat between preacher and atheist for the souls of Asunetus and Philagathus. Of course the issue is never in doubt: Antilegon is lost from the start. We may be sure that any book praised by the atheist, as *The Court of Venus* is praised, is inferentially damned by Arthur Dent. The reference to the *Court* occurs on sig. 2D5^v. Antilegon is in a jocular mood:

Tush, tush. Now I see you are in a melancholicke humour. If you will goe home with me, I can give you a speedy remedy: for I have many pleasant and merry bookes, which if you should heare them read, would soone remedy you of this melancholy. I have the Court of Venus, the Pallace of Pleasure, Bevis of South hampton, Ellen of Rummin: The mery Jest of the Friar and the Boy: The pleasaunt story of Clem of the Clough, Adam Bell, and William of Cloudesley: The odde Tale of William, Richard, and Homfrey. The pretie Conceit of John Splinters last will, and Testament: which al are excellent and singular bookes against hartquames: and to remove such dumpishnesse, as I see you are now fallen into.

But Antilegon's waggish sally is lost on the now thoroughly converted Asunetus, who replies primly:

Your vaine and frivolous bookes of Tales, Jestes and lies, would more increace my grieffe, and strike the print of sorrow deeper into my heart (sigs. 2D5^v-2D6^r).

Probably a coincidence is the quoting of "Noli me tangere" on sig. K⁴, a phrase which occurs in the penultimate line of Wyatt's

¹⁶⁰ For information on Case, see *D.N.B.*, IX (1887), 262 f.

¹⁶¹ *S.T.C.* 6626—*The Plaine mans Path-way to Heaven. Wherein every man may clearly see, whether he shall be saved or damned. Set forth Dialogue wise, for the better understanding of the simple.* By Arthur Dent, Preacher of the word of God at South Shoobery in Essex . . . Imprinted for Robert Dexter, 1601.

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sonnet "Whoso list to hunt, I know where is an hind." This poem is conventionally supposed to refer to Anne Boleyn, to whom Henry VIII became attached in 1526. We might suggest that the poem had appeared in *The Court of Venus* and that possibly, though I would say not probably, Dent's use of the Latin phrase is a reminiscence of the *Court*. John Bunyan's use of *The Plain Man's Pathway*, which was half the dowry he received from his first wife, is mentioned by Professor Bush, who remarks that *The Plain Man's Pathway* contributed to *Mr. Badman*.¹⁶² One is struck by the many parallels between Dent's work and *Pilgrim's Progress*, as well. *The Plain Man's Pathway*, one of the best-sellers of its age, went through 25 editions between 1601 and 1640. It was translated into Welsh by C. Lloyd in 1630, and reached its forty-first edition in 1831. Thus *The Court of Venus* was kept in the public eye through the medium of another book, if not through its own popularity, well into the seventeenth century.¹⁶³

In 1602 appeared the first of four seventeenth-century editions of *A Poetical Rhapsody*.¹⁶⁴ Collected by Francis Davison, this last of the important Elizabethan poetical miscellanies continued to be issued until 1621. In it we find what may be a final Elizabethan sally, and appropriately, a punning one, against that licentious book, *The Court of Venus*. "Bare Truth from *Venus Courte* is fled" writes the unknown author of "Cupids Marriage with Dissimulation."¹⁶⁵ The poem appears in every edition of *A Poetical Rhapsody*. It is assigned to the mysterious Anomos in the first edition, and to A. W. in Davison's manuscript list. On sigs. D2^v-D3 of Samuel Pick's *Festum Voluptates*, 1639, it is reprinted, from the fourth edition of the *Rhapsody*, and shamelessly claimed by Pick as his own work.

Perceptibly, the influence of *The Court of Venus* in the sixteenth century was considerable. Some of the men who were definitely influenced by the *Court* reacted adversely to it, but most of these were Puritans. Had the Puritan storm reached its climax a century earlier than it did, *The Court of Venus* would never

¹⁶² *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1945),

p. 295.

¹⁶³ For information on Arthur Dent, see *D.N.B.*, XIV (1888), 377.

¹⁶⁴ Ed. H. E. Rollins (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass., 1932).

¹⁶⁵ I, 164, l. 25.

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have reached print. But the *Court* did survive, influencing writers from Edward's reign to the reign of James I. Though we possess no complete edition, but only three scanty fragments, we are yet able to characterize as extensive the influence of the *Court* on the more literary writers of the century. And we may yet learn to say with advantages what has been said of *Songs and Sonnets*, that "adequately to discuss its influence would be almost to write a history of the first three decades of Elizabethan poetry."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ *Tottel's Miscellany*, II, 108.

7. Importance

The importance of *The Court of Venus*, even as it exists in the three slight fragments that we have, is considerable. The potential importance of the *Court*, should anything like a complete edition ever be recovered, is enormous. The most important thing about the Douce fragment is perhaps its date; our conception of English literary history in the sixteenth century will have to be revised substantially now that we know that a collection of poems, both lyric and narrative, appeared in the 1530's, a full generation before Tottel brought out his momentous book. The fact that a book of contemporary poems did appear so early argues a literary self-consciousness far greater than our previous estimate had indicated. Since the Douce fragment was printed in the lifetime of Sir Thomas Wyatt, we must consider the possibility of Wyatt's having sanctioned the publication and even having supervised it himself.

The discovery that Robert Shyngleton contributed the Prologue to Douce introduces another figure, albeit a minor one, to literary annals. We must now add the Prologue to the *Court* to the number of pseudo-Chaucerian pieces of the pre-Renaissance period. The lazy tenor of the Prologue has its importance as a corollary to the snail's pace of works like Stephen Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*: we have a better index of the literary appetite of the age. We should be grateful for this, even if we wonder at the insipidness of a taste that could relish such fare. *The Pilgrim's Tale* shows us that a heartier, coarser appetite existed, too. And the *Tale* takes its place with those other angry documents of Reformation days that have their interest for the historian if not for the purely literary critic. Next to the very early date at which Douce appeared, the greatest importance of the fragment lies in the one complete and one truncated lyric, both probably by Sir Thomas Wyatt, that we are given. What treasures might we not have should Douce one day be found complete! Perhaps a host of new poems by Wyatt would be uncovered. Perhaps we would be presented with a picture of substantial literary achievement in

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lyric verse by other men like Thomas Lord Howard, Richard Hatfield, Sir Anthony Lee, and Edmund Knyvett, who are now for the most part only names to us. But this is mere conjecturing, and the importance of the Douce fragment does not have to be elaborated in such flimsy terms. It stands by itself a landmark of considerable significance in the early decades of the sixteenth century.

Professors Griffith and Law, who were the first to work on *A Boke of Balettes*, sum up the importance of the Stark fragment in this way: "First, it gives evidence of the existence of a collection of lyric poems possibly earlier than *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557), and then it presents new readings of the text of at least two of Wyatt's poems and possibly four new stanzas of a third poem."¹⁸⁷ We have seen that the Stark collection of lyrics antedates *Songs and Sonnets* by nearly a decade. As with Douce, we may point therefore to a literary vitality hitherto largely unsuspected. The fact that *A Boke of Balettes* was at least ninety pages in length reinforces our conclusion that a good deal of contemporary literature was being published and read in the days of King Edward and Queen Mary. No longer will one be able to begin the study of "modern" English literature with the year 1557: the period before that date now begins to emerge from the shadowy penumbra in which the brilliance of Tottel's book had long thrown it. Moreover, three of the five poems in Stark make available new textual readings to students of Wyatt, and the remaining two poems may possibly be by Wyatt, too. The textual importance of the Stark fragment is thus very great.

Textually, the importance of Folger is at least equal to that of Stark. New readings are provided for five of Wyatt's poems, four of which had appeared in *A Boke of Balettes*. Folger gives us in addition seven more poems, some or all of which may be by Wyatt, and only one of which had appeared previously in Stark. That Folger included the archaic Prologue indicates a continuing vitality for that type of writing. We may be sure that *The Court of Venus*, in its composite editions, was an exceedingly popular book. Mrs. Stopes says: "It is significant that few notices seem to be taken of the book especially by name, in strictures later than

¹⁸⁷ R. H. Griffith and R. A. Law, "'A Boke of Balettes' and 'The Courte of Venus,'" *University of Texas Studies in English*, Number 10 (Austin, 1930), p. 12.

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Sutton's issue [1557]."¹⁶⁸ This statement is of course erroneous, and the number and virulence of the attacks on the *Court*, continuing into the seventeenth century, destroy Mrs. Stopes's theory that " 'The New Court of Venus' stands as a half-way house between the old work on which it was based, and the Metrical Psalms of the more advanced reformers, and as such may be treated among the causes and effects of the sixteenth century Reformation." No, *The Court of Venus* was nothing so slight as a half-way house to be reached and left behind. The *Court*, as represented by the short poems, at least, was rather a consistently lyrical expression of popular taste. It was old before *Songs and Sonnets* was conceived of; it was literally hoary with age, though green withal, when Shakespeare was writing *Hamlet*. Tottel's book has justly been called "one of the most important single volumes in the history of English literature."¹⁶⁹ Can the same statement be made about *The Court of Venus*? If that work were to be found complete, I am confident that it, too, would be assessed as an epochal book. Indeed, had previous generations of scholars known even what we know today about *The Court of Venus*, one would find its importance being stressed in present-day schools as a corollary to *Songs and Sonnets*. I believe that at least two editions of the *Court* have disappeared completely. There was probably an edition in 1549; there must have been another edition later than Marsh's 1561-1564 issue, to account for the continuing attacks on the *Court*. Presumably these editions were read to pieces, as was the first edition of *Songs and Sonnets*, only one copy of which survives. Professor Rollins remarks of Tottel's book, "That other Elizabethan editions than A-I were published and have disappeared without leaving a trace seems highly probable."¹⁷⁰ Indeed, since Professor Rollins edited the *Miscellany*, one such edition has turned up. We may be justified in believing that editions of the *Court* have disappeared, too, and in hoping that diligence and luck will recover them for us.

There is no information about *Songs and Sonnets* in the Stationers' Register except for one entry on February 18, 1583. In the early years of the company, no attempt was made to secure official entries for all new publications. Thus we have only one entry

¹⁶⁸ *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 317.

¹⁶⁹ *Tottel's Miscellany*, II, 4.

¹⁷⁰ *Tottel's Miscellany*, II, 37.

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for *The Court of Venus*. Other editions of the *Court* were doubtless published without recourse to the Stationers.

Let it be said that the full importance of *The Court of Venus* can be apprehended only dimly until and unless a complete edition becomes available. If ever that edition is found, I believe that literary historians will see in the *Court* a major well-spring of the great Elizabethan flood. But if diligence and luck are unavailing, or if no complete edition even awaits discovery, we may still claim for *The Court of Venus* the importance of having first given to the world the poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt, and of standing as the first landmark in the history of modern English verse.

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II. The Text

Gaps in the text which are due to the deterioration of the original edition or its involuntary omitting of a word or words are filled in, within brackets, wherever possible. The bracketed readings in Stark are supplied in all cases by Folger, except where Folger has obviously dropped a letter, making recourse necessary to the other sources of Wyatt's verse. Bracketed readings in Folger are supplied by Stark, wherever possible. If a poem in Folger is not found in Stark, however, the reading is supplied by the other sources of Wyatt's verse.

[1]

which had me in the snare
of pensyue thought and payn.

She saw that faithfully
I dyd my hert resyng
to take it geutylly. 5
she dyd nothing repyn.

Wherfore away all payn.
for now I am right sure
pyte in hir doth rayn 10
that hath my hert in cur. Finis

[2]

¶ Dryuen by dissyr to set affection.
a great way alas aboute my degre
chosen I am I thinke by election.
to couet that thing that will not be. 15

I serue in loue not lyke to sped.
I loke alas alytell to hye.
agaynst my will I do in ded.
couet that thing that will not be.

My fanzy alas doth me so bynd 20
that I can se no remedy
but styll to folow my folych mind.

E i.

The court of
and couet that thing that wyll not be.

I hopyd well whan I began
and sens the proue is contrary.
why shold I any longer than. 5
couet that thing that wyll not be.

But rather to leaue now at the last.
then styll to folowe fanzy.
content with the payn that is past
and not couet that thing that will not be. 10
Finis.

The pylgrymse tale.

In lincolneshyr fast by the fene.
ther stant a hows and you yt ken.
and callyd sempynhā of religion. 15
and is of an old foundation
buyldyt full many ayer ago.
to helpe sowllis out of there payn and wo.
or ellis tho beyn begyled
at whos cost such houses were byld 20
but there I was as fortune showpe
a fore I ouer the fen toke.
toward walsinghā apon my pelgrymag
I had caght in myn hed suche a dotag.
that the gren gat I had more delit to folow 25

then of deuotion to seke the halowe
 & at this town were as this hows stant
 of good lodgyng we can non want
 but in myn In or euer I to my eace. 5
 to walke about it did me best pleace
 ouer a brydg thorow a gren meyd
 where I might behold in euery sted.
 the greate buyldyng of this obbey
 strong ynoghe toughē it were not gay 10
 the houses of office on and other
 where on of leyd lay many a fowther
 wer well I bylt & of a great costag
 and forther with out as is the vsag.
 about the cowrt the barns of great strenghe 15
 wer bylt and the stablys in lenghe
 were wyd and fayr and comly for to se.
 saue sum thing in ruin as thought me
 thy were I fall & not so well vphold
 as thy had beyn by other days old. 20
 whan for there bred men vsed to swynk
 and erne ther met or that they drynk
 as austen wrytys to them in heremo.
 & wold suche brethren shold do so.
 for he that by husbādry wyll tryue & the 25
 must not trust in go but in now goe we.
 therfore the labourers tho monk barnardyns.

The pelgryms
 came in reproses, of the benedictins.
 then was good housses and hospytalite
 and they estemyd for men of honeste.
 for then thy wroght & labouryd w^t ther hand. 5
 & fed w^t suche they gat or suche as they fand
 ner was not as the bord seruid with couerd mese.
 suche super fluyte was had for nedles
 ner at tho days there was no suche presumption
 that thorow there prayer there shold be redēption. 10
 ner of massys no suche multitude
 for a mongst, an hundreth this is of certitude.
 of thes religyuse brethren, as I can red
 where skarse .ii. prestes out of dred.
 benet which was an holy man 15
 was a brother & no pryst as I here can.
 & gat his lyuyng with labour of his hand.
 tho days obediens in religion was fand.
 Francis was no prest but callid hī selue a brother
 which working taught no man to be a begger 20
 for yf that he had taught beggyng
 then had he done agaynst godis byding.
 and agaynst the order of charyte.
 exceptd they be hold blynd lame or sykly.
 but as I wanderyd here to and fro. 25
 from place to place, alon as I dyd go.
 loking on the old and antyk bulding.
 in myn eyr behynd I herde a bussinge

& for at the fyrst I dyd him not se.
 I thought yt had beyn the dran be
 that out of the hyue is dryuen for ydelnes
 & then it was a brother in his holynes. 5
 which of the hous was sum officer
 be lyke the bowcer or the tresurer
 or sum rowm ellis I thinke he had
 a solome man that small chere made.
 it was not met to suche a man as he. 10
 to take acquaintans in low degre
 except it were a knyght or a lord.
 that mor to his appetyd dyd accord
 then could he fation in the best wyce.
 many a denyte dyche in seruys. 15
 and handell him selue full fayr at his table.
 and therto had men, seruychable.
 that low on kne with keuering of his cupe.
 cwold saue his clothis from fallinge any drope
 the cronikis old from kynge Arthur. 20
 he could reherse and of his founder
 tell full many a whorthy story.
 wher this man walked there was no farey.
 ner other spiritis for his blessynges
 & munbling of his holy thinges 25
 did vanquyche them from euery buch and tre.
 there is no nother incubus but he
 for chaucer sathe in the sted of the quen elfe.

The pelgryms

[“Ther walketh now the limitour himself”]

for whan that the incubus dyd fle
yt was to bringe .vii. worse than he
& that is the cause there beyn now no fareys 5
in hallis bowris kechyns ner deyris.
thes holy men beyn thus about sperd
thorow all this lond in euery sted.
of there awn retenue they weare the differens.
to whom they haue professyd there obediens. 10
for eure valeant and worthy warryor
perde is known by his cote armor
there for this men, known must be.
by differes to whō they haue vowyd there chastite
what rekis them, the sayng of paul 15
which wylnith to men we shall not call.
we ought not playn by there cheachyng.
to gyue credens ner red suche wryting.
suffisyth ynoghe to ther dome.
to do as our elders haue don 20
to mok & dissayue, men of there lyuelod
in making beleue in thece brother hod
wher we shold only beleue in christis name
as we be taught, of the churche our dam
ner a mogst ourselues to haue suche sectis. 25
which the innocent people sore infectis
deuyding christ as insufficient.
to simple wyttis a great incomberment

in dyuerse colors flekyd lyke a pye.
 sum gurd with ropis to seme holy
 sum go barfot & sum go showd.
 & euere secte hath a straunge God. 5
 to whom they teache the people to call
 in this on they aggre they be hodyt all
 & ellis euere on other doth deny
 amongst them felue ther is suche enuy
 the dominikis hold vp Sthomas the aquin 10
 that then douns he shold be better deuyne
 & the minors agayn with hasty breth.
 defendis douns euen to the deth.
 tha carmelltes haue set vp albert.
 the hermytes with austen takis part 15
 greatly requyryng to gyue him the fame
 but not to folow but only his name.
 wher with the chanons can not agre.
 but clamis him of there relygion to be
 & yet amongst them there is dispyt 20
 sum goth in blak and sum in whyt
 the whyt refusis the blak for his brother
 & sayth they be not of that chapter
 of the mendicantes ther be orders fowr
 which haue mad many a ryche man powr. 25
 & yf it be as old men sayn.
 they spryng out of the name of caym.

E. iiii.

The pelgrims

for euen as abell was slayn with his brother
so be thos slayn that trust in that order.
and by a false fayth cleyn dismiss
that haue not holy beleue in Christ 5
heremittes there be that holdyse of paul
but I can not tell you be my soule.
whether ther were any such or no
that constitute ydell bekens to go.
there be other that be anthony 10
but he whom I salute was gylbertin
full loue reuerens I made with kne.
and ouer his sholder she lokyd a wry.
as thoughe he sawe me it was ynoghe
toward the churche I me droghe. 15
for I herd tell that by foundation.
of bothe the sixis there was religion.
the women where cloyd vp by the vysiter
you know what perrele it is together.
to ley hyrdis fast vnto the fyer. 20
which soue to kyndyll is in daunger.
but all this whyell I was in great moon.
for that I was my selue, & company had non.
whan in y^e churche y^r I spyed walkyng
a comely pryst and a welfaryng. 25
lokyng in the wyndows all about.
as thoughe sum old armis, he wher sekyng out.
in a shord gown gurd by the wast.

and a cersurt hod ouer his sholders cast.
 with a blak fryng hempyd al about
 slyt sum thing before and takyd in a lowpe.
 his gown sleue was narow at the hand 5
 in whom he bare a Ioly whyt wand.
 he ware his geyr full well and semly.
 his bottis sat cleyn, and claspyd feytuosly
 rownd visagyd and sum thing son ybrent
 he loked not as he were closter pent 10
 from place to place he dyd about rowm
 he semyd a master whan he was at home
 I longyd sum tydynges of him to eare
 because I toke him to be a straunger
 thinking him rather to enclyue. 15
 because we ware both prygryne
 and dyssiryd him hertely of his curtesy.
 of that fundation to show me the anscetry.
 he told me sum tym, that borne in that vilage.
 was on gylbert that of a page 20
 was there brought vp an holy man
 which this relygion fyrst began.
 and so thorow out the hole story.
 I kepyd it well in memory.
 dessyryng him to swow me what he thought 25
 in his consciens whan he had sought
 whether mans rule is so to be regardit
 and how he himselue beleued to be rewardyt.

The pelgryms

by godis will & by his byding
 or ellis by tradition of mens iuentyng
 & then he dyd planly confesse
 that mans work was wrechydnes. 5
 & to the corintheans he could rehers
 that in mans work we shold not reIoce
 for paull him selue wold haue yet known
 that mans work is our own
 for wether it be he cephas or apollo 10
 that is our awn what euer we do.
 which is nought whan we do best.
 exceptyd only our faith in christ.
 the thing for good that we pretend.
 takis non effect as meritoriuse end. 15
 therfore merit in vs is non.
 but in our redemer christ alon.
 Abraam Isac & Iacob.
 samuel ely ner patient Iobe
 for ther workes lay in pryson fast 20
 tell the kyng of glory in brast
 & fechyd them out wer as they ley.
 we must delyuered. by the same key
 & not by man ner in his inuention.
 for there ruell is but confucion. 25
 for it is expresse agaynst godis beading
 that we to his ruell shold mak any adyng
 ner with any thing thought it seme right
 [.....]

but humbly besekyng of syns remision
 sayeng (demite) by christis instruction.
 & this he gaue it in ruell generall
 in tokyn that we be synners all 5
 now be that lord (quod I) that makid me.
 I lytell thought that in this contre
 had ben any so perfyte at Iudgment.
 & he answerd yes verament
 but we dar not for y^e bishops preche 10
 ner the people instruct & teache
 wher other tyller they do non know
 but him that the cokyll doth sowe
 that makis them knell to stokis & stons
 & kyse & offer to rottyn bons. 15
 & god wot here is full small diligens.
 to show the people there obedyens.
 which they ought aboue all thing
 to god him selue & to ther kyng
 which vnder him hath here the guenernans 20
 & made our hed by godis ordinans
 to whom is gyuen his houll power.
 both to puyche & vs to socour
 first to correct he beris the swerd.
 & we offend by goddis word. 25
 & second he shall prefer & leyd
 the well doer in euer sted.
 & by christ him selue put in this degre.

The pelgrim s

whan it was takin from the clergy
 when they wer warnid frō suche presumpcion
 not for to tak no iurisdiction
 but he that wold haue the preferment 5
 to be ther ministre shold be diligent
 as Christ himselue to teache vs nought for gett
 [.]
 and first he dyd yt and after he taght
 thes wordis sayd he haue I caght 10
 whiche put me cleyn, owt of dowt
 that bisshopis to kingis shold lowt
 ner amongst them to haue no hed
 for christ him selue it for beyd
 and confirmid kingis in suche renown 15
 next him in erthe to haue dominion
 but her he sayd coud I tell a tall
 now I pray the quod I vnbulke thy malle
 and tell forthe the bisshop is not her
 his sunner the officiall ner yet his chansler 20
 and as we walkid with that he stayd
 and with an othe confirmid and said
 that I had reherhid nothing but papry.
 sprong owt of Antichrist full of foxry
 and of the chansler of lichfeld begon to spek 25
 but I desyrid him not his fast to breke
 for I knew wel christis enteut
 was nener to set prist on Iugment
 but to teache men in to better lyf
 and not cruelly to sle with bloody knif 30

well sayd he interrupt me no more
 my tall I will begin wher I lest befor
 but fyrst or I can bring mi purpos
 I must his contrary disclos 5
 the son of perdition it is a strang term
 and began in iudas as I can deserue
 which for mony sold his master
 and now they be growin in to a gretter nūber
 whiche be sprong out of iudas succession 10
 ther cheffe captayu of transgression
 dothe paull spek of to the tessalonians
 that in this world hathe dou so muche greuans
 which shall not be known to the vttermost
 but whan ther coms a dissention first 15
 for thes that from christ be appostalal
 deuidit in to sectis in ordinat
 agaenst godis ordinans be rebellion
 and as fyndis in hell full of dissention
 and dothe extoll ther awn noghtihod 20
 aboue all that is called god
 in the temple sittiug an vnmet thing
 showiug him selue as heuenly kyng
 scriptur dothe show and determin
 that he shall be opinid in his tyme 25
 whiche is constitut and by god set
 It is not ther ther burning that can it let.
 ther mischeunse tyranny ner cruelnes
 clokyd with ypocracy and falsnes

The pylgrims

he shalbe shoude & his iniquite
 the son of perdition perde
 whom Iesus christ with the strap rod
 of the spirit of his mothe which is God 5
 shall destroy & make lyght his workyng.
 that in sathan workis many strang thing.
 & illude the people thorow there craftynes
 there mokis there mous & there feynid holynes
 in all dissayt full of iniquyte. 10
 repungnant to god & to his verite.
 this is the womau the socerus wich
 whom Iohn saw in the apocalips
 syting apon a monsterus best
 with .vii. hedis & .x. hornis must odiust 15
 the woman that this best bestrod
 was gorginsly be seyn as she rod
 in purple with stons set so well
 most rychestly chast with margarites euery dell
 iu hir hand she kar a golden cupe 20
 were in was venom euery drope
 with whom she norichyd hir abhominatiō
 & caused the people to comit fornication.
 for we be called fornicators
 when tyme we be ydolotors 25
 & take antychrist for our hed
 & not the kyng which is in christis sted
 of whom anon partly tell I shall

but first the prophet of antichristes fall.
 I will declare and sum thing tell
 & of this howr this leyder to hell
 in whos forhed was wrytyn babylon. 5
 the great mother of fornication
 for out of this monster is sprong
 thes ydell lobers that do suche wrong
 & takis the swet srom true mens face.
 I beseke god amend it for his grace. 10
 for when the son of man enteris his kyngdō
 then shall they know what wrōg they haue done.
 & say thes be they whom we had in derision.
 & Iugyd them folyche in our opnyon
 for they dyd labour toyle and swet 15
 to get power clothes and to ther bely meat
 & now be they takyn amongst the children of god.
 & we expellyd for our ydelhod
 we insensat haue eryd from the way of trueth.
 with out light of Iustyce now to our ruthe 20
 & haue mad our selue wery in y^e way of perdition
 walking strayt ways to bryng vs to destruction
 y^t trust ī our selue & owr workes hath vs ouerthrow
 because the way of god we dyd not know
 what now auallyth our ryches & pryde 25
 all saue our ydelnes doth from vs slyd
 as much to say oure closters ner farmeris
 w^t w^thom we haue bleryd innocent eys

The pylgryms.

wher we were wont to work the workes of falsnes
is now obiect to oure opprobryusnes
Iohn sath he saw this woman dronk
that this multitude of sectis hath sonk 5
of the bloud of many an holy martyr
and of Iesu christ many a confessore
for this is to be noted in generall.
that vnder the clok of patrons they be al
where of sum wher marters in dede. 10
and sum fore the trueth dyd neuer a drope bled
but wher fraud disobedient & surquidus
agaynst there own princes presuptunse
and suche as to princes be not obedient
be autichristes against God repungnant 15
but this howr of Babylō that hath regnid so lōg
yt hath not beyn by trueth but by strong hand
I can not expresse I han uon such wyt.
how in euery part theyr sectis were set
quyckly to accuse them that begon to spye. 20
by reyding of scripture to se there heresy.
and then all such must be burned.
or ellis ab Iuryd and to hething stornyd
the multitude of the people beleued them well.
that from god by inspyration dyd not feyl 25
her in this contrey contynus the infection.
yet styll of antechrist which causis insurrection.
for it is only the old pharizes pretens.

to kepe the people ī ingnorans
 styll in egipt vnder pharo thrall
 for by bloud shed they hop to be keypd in stall. 5
 euen as nature doth them bynd
 for they be come of cams kynd
 to whos sacrifyce god had no respect
 but as ysay saith doth them cleyn abiect
 for wher the seyde of god is vnsawn 10
 for his ner his children they be not known
 there for to this ignorant rebels
 ysay the prophet this tall tels
 and bydyse them here the word of god
 in serful termis for there noghtyhod 15
 which knew before of there sodomi.
 & so callis them and of gomory.
 the princes wich be infernall
 fygured in daniell by beall
 and bydis them to godis word gyue heryng
 and of ther sacrifyre to make leauyng 20
 and saith when you shall come to my presens
 then shall I ask who gaue you lycens.
 with in my gat to take suche presumption.
 this is not spoken without great occasiō
 of thes which wylbe ministers 25
 and vndersuch pretens become masters
 when of them selue they be callyd alon
 & not of god as was aaron.

F i.

The pelgryms

and therefore there shalbe no religion
 not truely plantyd without destruction
 thes be the prophesys that we shold trust vnto.
 & not in false lyes that we be inhibyt fro 5
 it is a praty pownt to mark the crafty wyttis.
 that on both the partis hath set there delitis.
 to moue the people to ther awn part.
 where them selue dyd most apply there hert
 for sum soght antechristes distruction. 10
 and sum agayne of the contrary opynyon
 dyd lyes inuent & set them out in prophesy
 in hope to alure the people therby
 thorow which vndowtyd many hath beyn slayn.
 that haue put trust in suche fablis vayn. 15
 and thes that folow suche niffels and fablis.
 they cary them in bowsums and writyn in tablis
 by the harolydis termis they call him the lyon.
 the son and the mon & the dredfull a dragon.
 & how the barns shall ryse ful blythe 20
 be tweyn the sykyll and the syth.
 thes prophesis come of the deuyll.
 which is perseyued be there end euyll.
 as martin swarthe and many an other mo.
 hath mischeffe asked vengens and wo. 25
 on them that suche craft coud
 enuent to sheyd crystyn mens bloud.
 perkyn werkek and Iek straw.

and now of lat owr cobler the dawe.

¶ an exclamation of the auctor
agaynst sathan owr old ennemy.

¶ O wycked worme to penaunce conIuryd
and of god him selfe first accorsyd.
amongst all creatures most to be aborred
by whom in to this world came first
the fal of man tell me how thou durst
presum to ryse most vngraciouse beast.
and so by god inputed to crepe apon thy brest

5

10

O false pretens of gratinse pilgramage
for the comyn welth which is the destroyer.
wyll thu neuer leue to bryng folke in dotage
which of all lyes was the fyrst father
euen so of eue thou wast the disayuer
to comen welthe thou sayd mē shold be brought.
of all thy begynnynges the end is nocht

15

Thou wase thy selue the fyrst rebellyon
& therefore eiect down in to hell
not geuyng due honor was thy confusyon
w^t god and his ordinans thou wold mell
& euyng lyke thes innocentes compell.
workyng in thy selue antichristes clerkes
thy shanyllynges thy ministerys of bealles markes.

20

25

for euyng as adam hyd him for shame
whan he had broken godis cōmaundment.

The pylgryms.

so wold the rebellious alas wo can them blame.
there awn conscios must nedis be ther Iugment
by fals temptacion hoping preferment.
no thing to haue deseruyd but cruell dethe 5
wo morthē that worm that euer it drue brethe.

That be twyx sowll and spryt hath put dissentiō
thorow which the sowll is banychid cleyn.
that w^t the spryt of god afore was in vnion
in paradyce, now it must no mor be seyn. 10
in the same case our rebellions beynd
eiekt for breking godis ordinans.
and greuously accursyd for ther disobediens

The spryt is desolat from thes rebellions
& called woman for lak of a make 15
which in the apocalipsis in pays dolorus
to bryng forth and be delyuered doth tak
great payns and this is for owr sake
promysed by god that the womans seyde
shold distroy and breke this fals serpentis heyde. 20

Which dragon stonde ready to deuor
with .vii. hedis an odius beast
and ten great horns styf and stowr
that in to malis is dayle encreasyd.
and diademis .vii. upon thes hedis be impressyd. 25

and w^t hir tayll the steris out of heuyn rownd
the thred part pullid, and thrown to grond.

This is antichrist the howr of babylon
spoke of agayn in this same bok. 5
waching the woman hir chyldis destruction
whom god from heuin preseruid and toke
it is the son of man yf you lyst to lok
this world for to ruell, with the yron rod
this must be true yt is both man and god 10

And here doth your prophesy take effect
agaynst the son of man sedecinsly to ryce.
yf scripture be true they shalbe subiect.
for we taking godis part must them dispyce
thes be our papystes rotyd in malis 15
waching godis word as ner as they can.
whych now is come forth by the son of man

The true church of god figuryd in the womau.
that fled to wyldernes for aspace
and for fer of this dragon durst not be known 20
tyll the sonne of man be brought to his place
which shall thes dragon deuour and chace
with moyses rod turnyd in to a serpent.
to eate vp the ask manteyned by enchantment

F iii.

25

The pelgryms

O what reIosyng it is to a noble hert.
to se goddes prophesy fulfilled in owr tyme
come home owt of egypt in heyll & quart
this was figuryd in owr layde mother & virgyn. 5
which syngnifyd a space as god did deternene
that we vnder this dragon shold suffer payn.
tyll restorment by the minister of y^e son of man

Of whom I haue herd many on spek.
that knew god wot fullytyll what it ment 10
were in the .ii. natures thē selue doth not brek.
I mene god & man, mad atonement.
in the last adam, there is suche agrement
that from this diuinite, christ will ne can
it is the selue sam, that is the son of man. 15

Right hand the father, he syttis omnipotent
thorow his diuinite, ful hye in trown.
from whens he is to come, at the Iugment.
to Iodge the sowll that is sounken downe. 20
from the spryt of God, & wyll not be bownd
at all tymes ready for to fulfyll
her apon erth his commaundment & wyll

euyne as heuyn is seyt to his deyte
& is his kyngdom, of very right
so apon erth thorow his humanite. 25

doth he dissend & there on lyght.
 it is his fot stull, & rullis with his might
 of very congruens, by power imperiall.
 in the misticall man his substitute regal 5

Moses dyd fygure, the kyng apon erthe.
 segnifyeng the spiryt, aboue the sowll
 to whom was comytted to kepe in helth
 record to aaron whom he dyd controle.
 the spirit ys the son y^e moue is the sowll 10
 the mon is a subiect, of very right
 vnto the son of whom she takis here lyght.

Panll spekis whan he wryttys to thymothy
 & shows the misheffe of thes sūdry sectis.
 & how thes be they that refusys veryte 15
 which the ingnorant people in fectis.
 they tak no lyght, wher they be subiectis
 therefor he confers them, to Iannes & manbres
 rebellers to god and his ministre moses

But paull tretynis them to be ouer trown 20
 as Ianes & mambres were at that season
 & from hensforth openly to be known.
 there ingnorant folyche rebellion
 of the spryt of god hauyng non intellection
 but resisting moses godis minister. 25

The pelgryms
folowyng antichrist out of godis order

Thes thinges are wryten, for our instruction.
so hath paull to the corinthyans.
and shows how many hath suffreth distruction. 5
which crepyd not vnder godis gouernans
our rebellions I trow be alians
to datban and abiron the trueth to tell.
for resistinge moyses that sonk vnto hell.

by owr lord quod I this is well sayd 10
I durst haue sworn or my nek layd
yt had beyn true that merlyn did tell
afore I herd it repungne the gospell.
thuche quod he ther was no suche man.
gotyn by the deuyll seuse the world began. 15
or let vs ymagin that it be so.
as we may the blak swan or the whyt crow.
hath not paull warnyd vs wher he doth tell.
that we shold not beleue an angell.
from heuyn in the ayr fleyug. 20
yf he teache agaynst godis bidinge
which in his testament we may reyd
and bownd to belene as owr cred.
thus ymagining it doth aper playn
that antichrist in all them doth rayn. 25
that beleue in the deuyls loor.

to desayue vs styll as he had don before
 thes be they that paull callis heritykis
 which after monicion from vs inhibitis.
 christen men shold not with thes monsteris mell 5
 which do beleue in the deuyle of hell
 yf lucifer had dryuen god out of heuyn.
 then shold merlyn haue kepyd his steuyn.
 you spok (quod I) of the son & the mone.
 of whom I dessyr to here interpretation 10
 thos be matters (he sayd) mysticall
 and be very hyghe and theologicall
 the son is the spryt & so doth it syngnify
 beleue not me, but reyd exody
 that whan moyses apon the mont syon. 15
 had of the lord owr creator a vysion
 for bryghtnes the people cowld not behold.
 of the sou beames yt can not be told.
 the clernes & light that from him did spryng
 of quykyng & lyf it was a presentyng. 20
 for the letter ther to hym geuyng.
 by god was of the spryt a fguryng.
 vs to reuyiue at suche tym and whan.
 the selue spryt vnit to the son of man.
 I persauē quod I that moyses is the spryt 25
 no perde he sayd but figure it
 and euyn so dyd he fgure the sone.
 from whom all light and knowleg doth come.

The pelgryms

& now do I say that merlyn was a donine
& no deuyll as deuels determine
for if he were a fend, & spok carnally
necessyte compellis it a fals prophesy 5
but thus dyd he take the sprit for heuyn kyng.
which in the sowll shold haue his byding
& now doth the mon losse hir light.
not resayuing the spryt aganst all right
for that sowll is perished and ded 10
where the spryt of god is not hed
& this is euen it the vnnaturall thinge
out of his awn realm to bauiche the kyng.
for christ is a kyug god & man
& also apryst as I lear cane 15
marke of his kyngdom Iohn his diuinite
luke of his prysthod mathu the humanite
dyd wryt & therefore take hed.
for thes be the true prophycis in ded
it is marke that is callyd the lyon. 20
I meyn the gossell & Iohn the faulcon.
whos frendes shall set opyn the gates
vnder stond by our good prelatis.
to let truthe entre you know which is he
that callis him selue the way & veryte. 25
which hath byn banyched from his kyngdom.
wher of babylon hath rygned howrdom
the lyon the oxe the man & the faulcon.

all thes in on be son of man.
 prophysed to ruell with his yron rod.
 it is his very word which is god
 in the ymage of christ the last adam. 5
 both son of god, & son of man
 In whom we be bownd to work our meyt.
 of god marked whan we it truly geyt
 ministerid vnto vs by the lyon.
 the mysticall ymage of the son of man 10
 institute & put in godis sted
 ouer sowll and body to be our hed.
 not only our hed but body & all
 the mysticall man & so we may hym call.
 in vs he hath his operation. 15
 as body in members by due proportion.
 it is a wonder to se scripturs agre
 it passis man it is so heuenly
 & as moche mistery of the wordis rysyng
 as euer was of christis comyng. 20
 I am satisfed quod I what merlyn mēt.
 bede sayd he coms euyn to the same entent
 for all the dessyr and policy
 was to dryue it in to hedis witty
 that the pope was antichrist, & y^e howr of babylō. 25
 and shold haue a fall & destruction.
 a ded man shold ryse dukis to deme
 then after that all quiet & queme

The pelgrims

the true minister lying a mort longe.
 shold his awn autorte in to his hond fonge.
 & then he asked me and I were cantibrygion
 I sayd no I was an oxonion 5
 there haue you herd sayd he a prophesy.
 which is true without any lye.
 hoc magnū studiū quod floret ad vada bonu
 ante finem seculi. &c
 I haue herd it quod I full oft a forne 10
 and therto my selue on a boke sworu
 neuer with in stampford to reyd logyk.
 diuinite phylosophy ner yet retoryk
 for fer that oxford which once was floryching
 shold remoue to stampford for gud learnyng 15
 I told you before there was crafty wyttis.
 and thus he sayd apon both the partis
 for they that inuentyd that othe fyrst
 of god him selue be accurst
 ther was a prouerbe I knew wan. 20
 callyd turnyng the cate in the pane
 for that that was spoken in the spryt.
 in the fleche they wold haue vs to tak yt
 so wold they haue vs to tak merlyn
 as thoughe spiritually he had known no feling 25
 but thus this prophesy is vnderstond.
 that oxford now which is bond
 vnder the howr the monsterus beaste

& is here ford for most and least
 that there doth pease thorow any degre
 mantenythe babylon vtterly
 saue the good yoth begyus to spryng 5
 and of the well of lyf to haue tasting
 which water christ promysyd than
 at Iacobs well to the samaritane
 and leuis the slechy podell full of frogis
 to the old cenkanter phariziecall dogis. 10
 where in ther delyte is spytfull chyding.
 I beseke god send them a mending
 to fulfyll the prophesy thorow the ford of stone.
 in which pathe way christ byld apon.
 and leaue ther falshed craft and lyes. 15
 suffering the word of god to ryse
 w^t that he stod and toke his leaue.
 dissiring me my selue not greue
 of his tarying ner his long tale
 and I besought god to kepe him out of bale 20
 saue I longyd sor yf euer we met agan
 of the blak flet of norway me to sayu.
 he sayd he durst not it dislose
 but bad me reyd the romant of the rose
 the thred leafe Iust from the end. 25
 to the secund page ther he dyd me send
 wher I shold se mater plenty ynoghe
 saue only vnder the coler of the wolfe

The pelgryms
 is conferyd al the stinking fuet.
 so y^e hunters call it whan they mak ther suet
 the lyzard the polcat the fox & fulmerd
 which w^t the drogon takis part 5
 to deuor the chyld the sou of mau
 or ellis a lyon in his kyngdom
 the egle or the falcon whan he flys on hye.
 in the calue or the oxe misteris be.
 as well in the old tyme there fation & gyes 10
 as of his awn selue the sacrifice
 but the wolfe wol neuer owt of his hyd
 tyll first he be flayn both bely bak & syd
 he prayd me thes .vi. stanis for to marke
 whiche be chaucers awn hand wark 15

¶ Thus moche woll our boke syngnify
 that whyle peter hath mastery
 may neuer Iohn show well his myght.
 now haue I declaryd right
 the meying of the bark and rynd. 20
 that makis the ententions blynd.

¶ And by & by he doth away fle.
 & conuys him selue as it had neuer beyn he
 but I beseke god Iohn may haue his might
 & the son of man to posses his right 25
 in his kyngly ymage to haue his ministre

[1]

The fantasy of my harte
That may me only ease,
And helpe my careful smarte

Therefore my lady dere 5
Let se your fantasye
To make some hope appeare
Of helpe and remedy

For if ye be my frende 10
And vndertake my wo
My grefe is at an ende
yf ye continew so

Els fantasy doth not ryght 15
As I deserue and shall
To haue her day and night
To loue me best of all

Finis.

[2]

L [ou]e w[home ye] lyst and spare not
Therwith I am content 20
Hate whome ye lyst and spare not
For euen I am indifferent

Do what ye lyst and dred not 25
After your owne fantasy
Thinke what you lyst and fere not
For all is one to me.

For as for me I am not
wauering as the wynde
But euen as one that reketh not
which way ye turne your mynde 30

For


A Boke

For in your loue, I doubt not
But as one that reketh not
whether yon hate or hate not
In lest charge of my thou 5

wherefore I pray you forget not
But that I am well contente.
To loue whom ye lyst and spare not
For I am indyfferent

Finis 10

[3]
S Hall she neuer out of my mynde
Nor shall I neuer out of this payn
Alas her loue doth me so blinde
Except her helpe I am now slayne.

 I neuer told her of my mynde
what payne I suffer for her sake
Alas what meanes might I now find
That no displeasure with me she take 15

Yf I speake fayre she sayth I [flatter]
And if I do not I shall not spede 20
Yf I to her to wryte a letter
Then wyll she say she can not rede

Shall I despayre yet for all this
Nay nay my hart wyll not do so
I wold ones my swete hart kys 25
A thousand times to bynd more wo.

I am abashed when I shuld speake
Alas I can not my mind expresse
Yt maketh my hart in peces breake
To se her louing gentelnes Finis 30

My

[4]
MY penne take payne a [lytle space]
 To folowe the thing [that doth me chase]
 And hold my harte so [sore]
 And when thou hast [this brought to passe] 5
 My pen, I pray the write no [more.]

Remembre thou hast oft ple[ased]
 And my sorowes also eased
 But now vnknownen I kne[w b]ef[ore]
 That where I trust I am de[cey]ued 10
 And yet my pen thou canst [do no] more.

A time thou haddest as other ha[ue]
 To wryte which way my h[ope to craue]
 That time is past withdra[w therefore]
 Sens we do lose let other sau[e] 15
 As good leaue of, and writ [e no more.]

[And vse] to worke an o[ther way]
 N[ot as ye would but as ye may]
 For els my lif[e is] paste [restore]
 And my desyre is my decaye 20

To loue in vayne who so euer [shal]
 Of worldly payne it passeth all
 As in lyke case I find wherfore
 To hold so fast and yet to fall
 Alak my pen now wryte no more 25

Syns thou hast taken payne this space
 To folow that which doth the chase
 And hath in holde my hert so sore
 ndA now thou hast this brought to passe

A Boke

[My pen I pra]y the write no more
Finis.

[5]


[My lute a|wake perfourme the last
[Labour t|hat thou and I shall wast
[and end th|at I haue new begonne
[For when| this song is sung & paste
[My lute be still for I| haue done. 5

[As to be he| arde wh[er]e eare is none
[As lead to| graue in marble stone 10
[My so]ng may perce her hart as sone
[should] we then syng wepe or mone
[No more] my lute for I haue done

[The rocke d|oth not so cruelly
[Repulse the wau|es continually 15
[As she my sute a|nd effeccion
[So that I am] past all remedy
[Wherby my] lute and I haue done

[Proud of the spl|ene that [thou hast shot]
[Of symple hart, throu]gh loues shot 20
[Vnkind altho]ugh thou hast them wone
[Thinke not] he hath his bow forgot
[Alt]hough my lute and I haue done

Vengeaunce may fall on such disdayne
That maketh but game o fernest payne 25
true not alone vnder the sunne
[V]ngentylly to cause the louers payne
[Al]though my lute and I haue done

 And then may chaunce the to repent
The time that thou hast lost and spent 30

IN the moneth of may when the new tender grene
 Hath smothly couered the ground that was bare
 Poudred with flours, so wel be sene
 I would haue brought my hart out of care 5
 And as I walked in the wood so fayre
 Thycke of grasse among the floures swete
 And many a holsome herbe fayre vnder the fete.

I heard one hunt, me thought it did blow
 In a great horne of styfe sowne 10
 At the roote of the heart, as farre as I could know
 Toward the cry I had me fast bowne
 And at the last, for weary I sat me downe
 Thynking a whyle to take my restyng
 The houndes were gone out of my hearing. 15

And for that I know my selfe to be alone
 And sodeinly my grefe, I beganne to complayne
 Me thought I had good place, my selfe to mone
 And ease my hart of myne owne payne
 Besechyng Venus to lose me out of chayne 20
 I was so fast and sure stong through the hart
 Wyth the fyry chayne, that I could not start.

And as I was making my complaint
 Of my true seruyce to my lady deare
 And how nothing I was repentaunt 25
 Saue to her presence, I was not taken nere
 Genius came and asked me what cheare
 Who is with Venus put in such trust
 That lyke to dye for loue, confesse them he must.

Venus knew I had a woful hart 30
 And wher we thus content she knoweth her relefe
 To me therefore she send her owne clarke

A.ii.

the Prologue

To slacke my sorrowes, and helpe me of my gryefe
That was so far in daunger and myschiefe
For whether I would, she knew I durst not speake
Whych caused my hart in sonder to breake. 5

I layd my head betwixt my life and death,
Vpon his kne, and what he said I heard
And by that time I scarsly drew my breath
But hard his tale or I answered
It hath bene pity, him to haue disturbed 10
Oftentimes he bad, that I should leaue my wo
and sayd of my dysease ther were fyue hundreth mo.

He bad therefore that I wyth pen and ynke
Rery wyth wryting should make my complaynt
Ther shalbe a redresse, soner then ye thinke 15
And bad no more that my heare should raynt
And of our bylles, he sayd he would none want
Of them he thought to haue good comfort
And would present him selfe in Venus court.

For she entendeth, and that is in al hast 20
To surmount the parlyament as fast as can be done
And Iupiter himselfe within this day past
Hath commaunded Marcury for to be gone
Vpon his message, some cal him Stylbone
With his commission also for to compel 25
Mynos to come, the iudge of dreful hel.

To the mount of Cethro, wher Venus doth dwel
The preparement made is so farre exceding
That of such triumphe no storyes doth tel
That is aboue al other so farre transcending 30
And for the whyle, she had me by copying
Of these complayntes which doth folow

And

And after that I should know the matter thorow

The whole fashion of euery thing

He would me send therfore we must be gone

Of matters determined, as wel as of the meting

5

But I besought him, or euer I were alone

That of Venus court he would interpret the fashion

Some thing to make but he would not consent

Tyl it were concluded by the parliament.

But thus farre he sayd he durst report

10

That loue without charitie, should be put downe

Nor periured persons, should no more resort

Vnto the court of Venus doth frowne

When the religion hath them bowne

And to Diana them selfe hath also sworne

15

And yet through Heccates in her court be borne.

Whom the Poets cal the gods of courtesy

That now is in so great dyspleasure

And like to be expelled for his baudry

Whych hath done mischief out of measure

20

Ipcrysye is spyed for al his treasure

That he spedeth as wel as the false foxe

As that in armes, had many a bloody boxe.

And Venus intendeth Diana to compel

For to supporte vnder the coulour of chastitie

25

No more in asking, but to expel

Out of her retynew inconueniently

For whose supporting she is had in ielousye

And thus he went and bad me farewell

And at another tyme he would me more tel.

30

And therefore I must (my reader) intreat

A.iii.

The Prologue.

Desyryng you hartely to be content
For though I haue not, I wyl not forget
To describe the court, I wil deligent
And at the end of this complaynt set it
But I as nothing of myne induction
Wyl once report of Genius instruction. 5

And here foloweth, wherin you may rede
To the court of Venus a greate nomber
Their harts they say be as heauy as lead
Their sorowful wo, I am sure you wil tender
For if that I were mayden vncumber
And had such myght as she hath mone
Out of their payne they should be lettin gone. 10

¶ Thus endeth the prologue, and hereaf-
ter foloweth the new court
of Venus. 15

[1]
MY penne take payne a lytle space
to folow the thing that doth me chase
and hath in hold, my hart so sore
And when thou hast this brought to passe:
My pen I praye the wryte no more. 20

Remember how thou hast oft pleased
And al my sorowes also eased
But now vnknownen, I knew before
That wher I trust I am deceyued
And yet my pen thou canst do no more. 25

A tyme thou hadst as other haue
To wryt whych way my hope to craue
That tyme is past, wythdraw therfore
[Sens] we doe lose and other saue 30

As good leaue of, and wryt no more.

And vse to worke another way
 Not as ye would but as ye may
 For els my lyfe is past restore
 and my desire is my decay
 and yet my pen now wryt no more. 5

To loue in vaine whosoever shal
 Of worldly payne it passeth al
 As in like case, I find wherfore
 To hold so fast, and yet to fal
 Alas my pen now wryte no more. 10

Seyng thou hast taken payne this space
 To folow that whych doth me chase
 and hath in hold my hart so sore
 And now to haue brought this to passe
 My pen I pray the to wryt no more. 15
 Finis.

[2]

MY lute awake performe the last
 Labour that thou and I shal wast,
 and end that I haue new begone 20
 For when this song, is gon and past
 My lute be stil for I haue done

As to be heard wher care is none
 A lead to graue in a marble stone 25
 My song may perse, heart as sone
 Should we then syng, wepe or mone
 No more my lute for I haue done.

The rocke doth not so cruelly
 Repulse the waues continually 30
 As she my sute and affection.

A.iiii.

the Court

So that I am past al remedy
Wherby my lute and I haue done

Proud of the splen that thou hast shot
Of symple hart, through loues got
Vnkind although thou hast them won
Thinke not he hath his owne forgot
Although my lute and I haue done.

5

Vengeaunce may fal on such dysdayne
That maketh but game of earnest paine
Trow not alone vnder the sonne
Vngently to cause to louers plaine
Although my lute and I haue done

10

And then may chaunce the to repent
The time that thou hast lost and spent
To cause thy louer to sighe and sowne
Then shalt thou know beauty but lent
And wyshe and want as I haue done

15

My lute be stil this is the last
Labour that thou and I shal wast
And end that I haue begonne
Or when this song is song and past
My lute be stil for I haue done.

20

Finis,

[3]

TO whom should I sue to ease my payne
To my mysters, nay nay certayne
For feare she should me then disdayne

25

I dare not sue, I dare not sue.

When I should speake to my mystres
In hope for to get redres

30

When

When I should speake, when I shold speake

What hap had I that suffereth payne
 And if I myght her grace attayne
 Or els she would here me complayne
 What hap had I, what hap had I. 5

I fly for feare to be espyed
 Or of euil wil to be destroyed
 The place wher I would faynest abyde
 I fly for feare, I fly for feare. 10

Though I wer bold who should me blame
 Loue caused me to do the same
 Wyth honesty it were no shame:
 Thouth I were bold, though I were bold.

And here an end, wyth ful glad wyl
 In purpose for to serue her styl
 And for to part thinke none yl
 And here an end, and here an end. 15

Finis.

[4]

DYsdaine me not without desert
 Nor leaue me not so sodeynly
 Sence wel ye wot that in my hart
 I meane nothing but honesty 20

Dysdayne me not
 Refuse me not without cause why
 Nor thynke me not to be vniust
 Synce that by lot of fantasye
 The careful knot nedes knyht I must. 25

Refuse me not.
 Mystrust me not though some therbe
 That fayne would spot thy stedfastnes
 Beleue them not seyng that ye se 30

The

The Court

The profe is not as they expresse
Mystrust me not.

Forsake me not til I deserue
Nor hate me not til I swarue
For syth you knew what I entend.
Forsake me not.

5

Dysdayne me not being your owne
Refuse me not that I am so true
Mystrust me not til al be knowen
Forsake me neuer for no new
Disdayne me not.

10

Finis.

[5]

Fortune what ayleth the
Thus for to banyshe me
Her company whom I loue best,
For to complayne me

15

Nothing auayleth me
Adew farewel this nights rest.
Her demure countenance
Her womanly countenance
Hath wounded me through Venus darte,
That I cannot refrayne me
Nother yet abstayne me
But nedes must loue her withal my hart.

20

25

Long haue I loued her
Oft haue I proued her
Yet alas through dysdayne
Nothyng regardyng me
Nor yet rewardeth me
But letteth me lye in mortal payne.

30

Yet shal Ioue her stil
Wythal my hart and wyl

Wher

Wher so euer I ryde or go
 My hart my seruyce
 Afore al ladyes
 Is hers al onely and no mo 5

 She hath my hart and euer shal
 In this terrestrial
 What can she more of me require
 Her whom I loue best
 God send her good rest 10
 And me hartely my whole desyre
 Finis.

[6]

I May by no meanes surmyse
 My fantasy to resyst
 But after the old gyse 15
 To cal on had I wylt
 And thought it to suffyce
 That agayne I shal haue none
 Yet can I not deuysse
 To get agayne myne owne. 20

 It is my hart that I haue lost
 God send it me agayne
 I should it haue what euer it cost
 Or els I am but slaine
 I study day and night 25
 And loud I cry and cal
 To be deliuered quyte
 From her that I am thral

 And yet agaynst al right
 Of force I must stil mone 30
 For it doth passe my might
 To get agayne myne owne. &c.

in

The Court

In tormentes I am torne
 That no rest find I can
 None so vnhappy borne
 Sence that the world began 5
 I aske but such corne
 And such sede that was sowne
 And yet though I had sworne
 I cannot get my owne.

But seyng that I cannot 10
 Attayne my true desyre
 Nor by no meane may not
 Crepe out of the fyre
 Geue ought of your owne
 By reason that you should not 15
 Let me to haue myne owne.
 Finis,

[7]

IF fantasy would fauour
 As I deserue and shal
 My loue my lady paramour 20
 should loue me best of al

And if I not attayne
 The grace that I desire
 Then may I wel complayne
 My seruyce and my hier 25

Fantasy knoweth how
 To forbear my true hart
 It fantasye might auow
 Wyth fayth to take part

But fantasy is frayle 30
 And fletynge styl so fast

that faith may not preuail
 To helpe me fyrst nor last

Since fantasy at his luste
 Doth rule al by gesse 35
 wherto shoulde I put trust
 In truth and stedfastnes.

Yet gladly would I please
 That fantasy of my hart
 That may me onely ease 40
 and helpe my careful smart.

Therefore my lady deare
 Let se your fantasy.
 to make some [hope] appeare
 Of helpe and remedy 45
 For

[9]

Now must I lern to faine and do as other do Seing no truth doth raine That I may trust vnto I was both true & playne To one and to no mo And vnto me againe Alas she was not so.	5	Out of her sight no pleasur But to my hart gret paine And teares out of measure y ^t out of mine eies did raine Her absence was my death For to depart her fro And yet alas her fayth Was fayned and not so.	30
Vnknowē againe my hart Into my foes hand and euer I could astart Out of that careful band Al the wyt I had Could scace the knot vndo This careful lyfe I had For one that was no so.	10 15	Not the feuer quartayne Doth halfe a man so shake As dyd the wo and payne That dayly dyd me take No slepe could I nor rest But tossyng to and fro And wheras I loued best Alas she did not so,	35 40
The night right lōg & heuy The dayes of my torment The sighes continually That thorow my hart wēt My colour pale and wan To her dyd playnly shewe That I was her true man And yet she thought not so	20 25	And seing it is my chaūce My loue in vaine to wast I am not in that daunce The first nor yet the last But wise he is by once That can his foly know To reuoke at once Seyng she wyl no so.	45 50
Finis.			

[10]

Loue whom you lyst and spare not
Therwyth I am content
Hate whom you lyst and spare not
For I am indyfferent

Do what you lyst and dread not After your owne fantasye Thynke what you lyst and feare not	55
--	----

For al is one with me.

For as for me I am not
 Wauering as the wind
 But euen as one that reketh not
 Whych way you turne your mind 5

For in your loue I doubt not
 But as one that reketh not
 Whether you hate or hate not
 Is least charge of my thought. 10

Wherefore I pray you forget not
 But that I am wel content
 To loue whom you list and spare not
 For I am indyfferent
 Finis. 15

[11]

M Eruaile no more al tho
 The songes I sing do mone
 For other life then woe
 I neuer proued none
 And in my hart also 20
 Is grauen with letters depe
 And many thousands mo
 The flouds of teares to wepe.

How may a man in smart
 Find mater to reioyce 25
 How may a woful hart
 Set forth a pleasaunt voyce
 Play who can that depart
 In me must nedes appere
 How fortune ouerthwart 30

Perdy

the Court

Perdye ther is no man
If he neuer saw syght
That perfectly tel can
The nature of the light 5
How should I than
That neuer tasted but soure
But do as I began
Continually to loure.

Such chaunce perchaunce may chaunce 10
To cause me chaunge my tune
And when such chaunce doth chaunce
Then shal I thanke fortune
And if such chaunce do chaunce
Perchaunce or it be long 15
For such a pleasant chaunce
To sing some pleasant song.

Finis.

[12]

SHal she neuer out of my mynd
Nor shal I neuer out of my payne 20
Alas her ioy doth [me] so bind
For lacke of helpe now am I slayne

I neuer told her of my mynd
What payne I suffer for his sake
Alas what paynes myght I now find 25
That no displeasure with me she take
Yf I speake fayre she sayth I flatter
And if I dare not, I shal not spede
If I to her do wryte a letter
Then will she say she cannot rede. 30

Shal I dyspayre yet [for al] this
Nay nay my hart wil not do so

I

1. Variant Readings and Misprints

Editions or manuscript sources of Wyatt's poems are referred to by the following letters:

- B: Bodleian fragment (Douce g. 3)
- S: Stark fragment
- F: Folger fragment
- E: Egerton MS 2711 in the British Museum
- D: Devonshire MS (Additional MS 17492 in the British Museum)
- A: Arundel MS
- T: Tottel's *Songs and Sonnets*

The following table aims to cite every misprint, dropped word, and dropped line in the fragments, and every verbal variant from Stark, which is considered for the purposes of this study the primary reading of the poems. When a poem found in the other fragments does not appear in Stark, the fragment in which the poem does occur is of course considered the primary reading.

References consist of two arabic numerals, separated from each other by periods. The first number represents the page on which the poem occurs. The second number gives the line in which the particular reading is found. A capital letter, abbreviating the source in the manner cited above, follows the arabic numerals.

In exceptional cases, poems in the fragments find only a few broad parallels in other sources. The existence of these parallels will simply be noted in the table in this manner: 81.12.B *Dryuen by dissyr* parallels D and 122.1.T.

Variants that are found in Tottel and in the MS sources of Wyatt's poems will be given in the order followed above for the list of abbreviations. Trivial differences in spelling like *shall-shal*, *harte-hart*, are not given. The addition or omission of a syllable is listed in all cases, but differences in capitalization and punctuation are ignored. So, too, are all broken letters, letters or words out of alignment, cases of improper spacing, and the use of wrong fonts of type.

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Readings of the poems found in the Egerton, Devonshire, and Arundel MSS are based on inspection of the MSS. Where the Egerton reading varies from that of Stark or Folger, the variant is given, preceded by the notation E. Where the reading of the Devonshire or Arundel MSS varies from that of Stark and Folger, but coincides with the reading of Egerton, it is not listed. Should the Devonshire or Arundel variant not coincide with Egerton, the variant is given, preceded by the notation D for Additional MS 17492 (Devonshire), or A for Arundel MS.

Readings of the poems found in Tottel's *Songs and Sonnets* are those of Professor Hyder E. Rollins' edition, Volume I (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1928). Variants which occur in *Songs and Sonnets* will also be preceded by a pair of numbers, the first indicating the number assigned by Professor Rollins to the poem in which the variant occurs, and the second number indicating the line of the poem in which the variant occurs.

Though I have gone over this table several times, I am disagreeably conscious that errors may persist in it. I hope that the reader will be tolerant should he discover any faults that still remain "escaped."

- 81.6. B misprint *geutyilly* for *gentyilly*.
- 81.12.B *Dryuen* by *dissyr* parallels 340.1.D. and 122.1.T.
- 81.16.B *not lyke to sped* parallels 340.3.D. and 122.3.T.
- 83.5. B misprint *to my eace* for *toke my eace*.
- 83.10.B misprint *toughe* for *thoughe*.
- 83.19.B misprint *thy* for *they*.
- 83.20.B misprint *thy* for *they*.
- 84.5. B misprint *thy* for *they*.
- 85.15.B misprint *denyte* for *deynte*.
- 86.2. B I have supplied a dropped line. See *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, l. 874.
- 86.7. B misprint *sperd* for *sped*.
- 86.14.B misprint *differes* for *differens*.
- 86.17.B misprint *cheachyng* for *theachyng*.
- 86.25.B misprint *a mogst* for *a mongst*.
- 87.9. B misprint *felue* for *selue*.
- 87.14.B misprint *tha* for *the*.
- 87.14.B misprint *carmelltes* for *carmelites*.
- 87.27.B misprint *caym* for *cayn*.
- 88.13.B misprint *she* for *he*.
- 88.21.B misprint *soue* for *sone*.
- 89.2. B ? misprint *cersurt* for *circuit*.

VARIANT READINGS AND MISPRINTS

- 89.15.B misprint *enclvue* for *enclyne*.
 89.16.B misprint *prygryne* for *perrygryne*.
 89.25.B misprint *swow* for *show*.
 90.3. B misprint *iuentyng* for *inuentyng*.
 90.29.B line left out.
 91.12.B misprint *otber* for *other*.
 91.20.B misprint *guenermans* for *gueueurnans*.
 91.23.B misprint *puyche* for *punyche*.
 92.8. B line left out.
 92.18.B misprint *vnbulke* for *vnbuckle* (N. E. D.).
 92.20.B misprint *sunner* for *summer*.
 92.23.B misprint *reherhid* for *rehersid*.
 92.27.B misprint *enteut* for *entent*.
 92.28.B misprint *nener* for *neuer*.
 93.3. B misprint *lest* for *left*.
 93.7. B misprint *deserue* for *deserne*.
 93.11.B misprint *captayu* for *captayn*.
 93.13.B misprint *dou* for *don*.
 93.22.B misprint *sittiug* for *sitting*.
 93.23.B misprint *showiug* for *showing*.
 93.27.B misprint *ther ther* for *ther*.
 93.28.B misprint *mischeunse* for *mischeuuse*.
 94.4. B misprint *strap* for *sharp*.
 94.12.B misprint *womau* for *woman*.
 94.15.B misprint *must* for *most*.
 94.17.B misprint *gorginsly* for *gorgiusly*.
 94.20.B misprint *iu* for *in*.
 95.1. B misprint *xexviii* for *xxxviii*.
 95.9. B misprint *srom* for *from*.
 95.28.B misprint *thom* for *whom*.
 96.13.B misprint *presuptunse* for *presūptuuse*.
 96.15.B misprint *autichristes* for *antichristes*.
 96.18.B misprint *uon* for *non*.
 96.23.B misprint *stornyd* for *scornyd*.
 97.6. B misprint *cams* for *cains*.
 97.20.B misprint *sacrifyre* for *sacrifyce*.
 98.28.B misprint *werkek* for *werbek*.
 99.12.B misprint *gratinse* for *gratiuse*.
 99.25.B misprint *shanyllynges* for *shauyllynges*.
 100.2. B misprint *wo* for *who*.
 100.6. B misprint *morthē* for *worthē*.
 100.11.B misprint *rebellions* for *rebellious*.

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- 100.14.B misprint *rebellions* for *rebellious*.
 100.16.B misprint *pays* for *payns*.
 100.21.B misprint *deuor* for *deuour*.
 101.12.B misprint *sedecinsly* for *sedeciusly*.
 101.18.B misprint *womau* for *woman*.
 102.10.B misprint *fnl* for *ful*.
 102.17.B misprint *diuuuite* for *diuinite*.
 103.10.B misprint *moue* for *mone*.
 103.13.B misprint *Paull* for *Paull*.
 103.14.B misprint *misheffe* for *mischeffe*.
 103.18.B misprint *manbres* for *Iambres*.
 103.21.B misprint *mambres* for *Iambres*.
 104.7. B misprint *rebellions* for *rebellious*.
 104.8. B misprint *datban* for *dathan*.
 104.8. B misprint *abiron* for *abiram*.
 104.15.B misprint *seuse* for *sense*.
 104.20.B misprint *fleyug* for *fleyng*.
 104.23.B misprint *belene* for *beleue*.
 105.1. B misprint *Venus* for *Tale*.
 105.18.B misprint *sou* for *son*.
 105.23.B misprint *reuyuiue* for *reuyue*
 106.2. B misprint *donine* for ? *douine* ? *diuine* ? *domine*
 106.13.B misprint *bauiche* for *baniche*.
 106.14.B misprint *kyug* for *kyng*.
 108.8. B misprint *bonu* for *bouu*.
 108.11.B misprint *sworu* for *sworn*.
 109.5. B misprint *yoth* for *youth*.
 109.5. B misprint *begyus* for *begyns*.
 109.10.B ? misprint *cenkanter* for *cankered*.
 109.22.B misprint *sayu* for *sayn*.
 109.23.B misprint *dislose* for *disclose*.
 110.6. B misprint *deuor* for *deuour*.
 110.6. B misprint *sou* for *son*.
 110.6. B misprint *mau* for *man*.
 110.14.B misprint *stauis* for *stauis*.
 110.20.B misprint *meyuing* for *meyning*.
 111.2. S *The*. 124.39.F *That*.
 111.2. S *fantasy*. E *fansy*.
 111.2. S *my*. E *her*.
 111.4. S *helpe*. E *cure*
 111.6. S *Let se*. E *Set ons*.
 111.7. S *To make some hope appeare*. 124.44.F *to make some
 appeare*.

VARIANT READINGS AND MISPRINTS

- 111.8. S *Helpe and*. E *stedfastnes*. D *stedfast*.
- 111.9. S *ye*. E *he*.
- 111.12. S *ye*. E *he*.
- 111.13. S *Els*. E *Elles*.
- 111.13. S *fantasy*. E *fansy*.
- 111.13. S *doth*. E *doeth*.
- 111.14. S *As I deserue and shall*. D *As deserue and shall*.
- 111.15. S *To haue her*. 125.8. F *To her*. E *To haue you*.
- 111.18. S [*ye*]. 126.51. F *you*.
- 111.20. S *ye*. 126.53. F *you*.
- 111.20. S *ye*. 126.53. F *you*.
- 111.20. S *and spare not*. D *for I kare not*. D is a shorter version of 2.S. Only its parallels with 2.S are listed.
- 111.21. S *For euen I*. 126.54. F *For I*.
- 111.22. S *ye*. 126.55. F *you*.
- 111.24. S *you*. D *ye*.
- 111.24. S *lyst and fere not*. D *liste I fere not*.
- 111.25. S *to*. 127.2. F *with*.
- 111.28. S *rekeþ*. D *reckes*.
- 111.29. S *ye*. 127.6. F *you*.
- 112.2. S *doudt*. D *dote*.
- 112.4. S *whether*. D *Whyther*.
- 112.4. S *yon*. 127.9. F *you*. D *ye*.
- 112.5. S *In*. 127.10. F *Is*.
- 112.5. S *thou*. 127.10. F *thought*.
- 112.8. S *ye*. 127.13. F *you*.
- 112.12. S *this*. 128.20. F *my*.
- 112.13. S *loue*. 128.21. F *ioy*.
- 112.13. S *doth me so*. 128.21. F *doth so*.
- 112.13. S *blinde*. 128.21. F *bind*.
- 112.14. S *Except her helpe*. 128.22. F *For lacke of helpe*.
- 112.14. S *I am now*. 128.22. F *now am I*.
- 112.16. S *her*. 128.24. F *his*.
- 112.17. S *meanes*. 128.25. F *paynes*.
- 112.20. S *do*. 128.28. F *dare*.
- 112.21. S *to*. 128.29. F *do*.
- 113.2. S end of line torn away. 118.18. F *lytle space*.
D *lytyll space*.
- 113.3. S *the thing*. D *that whyche*.
- 113.3. S end of line torn away. 118.19. F *that doth me chase*.
D *dothe me chace*.
- 113.4. S *And hold*. 118.20. F *and hath in hold*. D *And hathe in hold*.

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- 113.4. S end of line torn away. 118.20.F *sore*. D *sore*.
 113.5. S *And*. D *But*.
 113.5. S end of line torn away. 118.21.F *this brought to passe*.
 D *thys brougnt to passe*.
 113.6. S *Pray the*. D *prithe*.
 113.6. S end of line torn away. 118.22.F *more*. D *more*.
 113.7. S. *Remembre thou*. 118.23.F *Remember how thou*.
 D *Remember, oft thou*.
 113.7. S *hast oft*. D *hast me*.
 113.7. S *ple* [end of line torn away]. 118.23.F *pleased*.
 D *eaysyd*.
 113.8. S *And my*. 118.24.F *And al my*. D *And all my*.
 113.8. S *Sorowes*. D *payne*.
 113.8. S *also eased*. D *full well apeaysyd*.
 113.9. S *vnknowen*. D *I know*.
 113.9. S *I knew*. D *vnknowen*.
 113.9. S end of line torn away. 118.25.F *before*. D *before*.
 113.10.S *That*. D *Ffor*.
 113.10.S *de*[]*ued*. 118.26. F *deceyued*. D *dysceauyd*.
 113.11.S *canst* [] *more*. 118.27.F *canst do no more*. D *canst
 no more*.
 113.12.S *haddest*. 118.28.F *hadst*.
 113.12.S *ha*[]. 118.28.F *haue*. D *haue*.
 113.13.S *h*[]. 118.29.F *hope to craue*. D *hope to craue*.
 113.14.S *withdra*[]. 118.30.F *wythdraw therfore*. D *withdrawe
 therffore*.
 113.15.S *Sens*. 118.31.F *page wrinkled*.
 113.15.S *let*. 118.31.F *and*. D *that*.
 113.16.S end of line torn away. 119.2.F *no more*. D *no more*.
 113.17.S [] *to worke an o* []. 119.3.F *And use to worke another
 way*. D *yn worthe to use another waye*.
 113.18.S line torn away. 119.4.F *Not as ye would but as ye may*.
 D *Not as we wold, but as we maye*.
 113.19.S *els*. D *ons*.
 113.19.S *life*. D *losse*.
 113.19.S [] *paste*. 119.5.F *is past restore*. D *ys past restore*.
 119.7. F *and yet my pen now wryt no more*. D *My pen yet wryght
 a lytyll more*. No parallel line in 4.S.
 113.21.S *who so euer*. D *who cuer*.
 113.21.S end of line torn away. 119.8.F *shal*. D *shall*.
 113.25.S *Alak*. 119.12.F *Alas*. D *alas*.
 113.26.S *Syns*. 119.13.F *Seyng*.

VARIANT READINGS AND MISPRINTS

- 113.27.S *the*. 119.14.F *me*. D *me*.
- 113.29.S *ndA now*. 119.16.F *And now*. D *Now*.
- 113.29.S *thou hast this brought*. 119.16.F *to haue brought this*.
D *hast thou brought my mynde*.
- 114.2. S [] *y the write*. 119.17.F *My pen I pray the to wryt*.
D *My pen I prithe wryght*.
- 114.4. S The beginning of each line in the first 4 stanzas and the
beginning of the last 2 lines in stanza 5 have been torn
away.
119.19.F *My lute a*. E *My lute a*. 87.1.T *My lute a*.
- 114.4. S *last*. D *last labor* (scribal error).
- 114.5. S []. 119.20.F *Labour t*. E *Labor t*. 87.2.T *Labour t*.
- 114.6. S []. 119.21.F *and end th*. E *And end th*. 87.3.T *And
end th*.
- 114.6. S *new*. E *now*. 87.3.T *now*.
- 114.7. S []. 119.22.F *For when*. E *For when*. 87.4.T *And when*.
when.
- 114.7. S *sung*. 119.22.F *gon*.
- 114.8. S []. 119.23.F *My lute be stil for I*. E *My lute be still*,
for I. 87.5.T *My lute be styl for I*.
- 114.9. S []. 119.24.F *As to be he*. E *As to be he*. 87.6.T *As
to be he*.
- 114.9. S *wh[]e eare* 119.24.F *wher care*. E *where ere*. 87.6.T
where eare.
- 114.10.S []. 119.25.F *A lead to*. E *As lede to*. 87.7.T *As lead to*.
114.10.S *in marble*. 119.25.F *in a marble*.
- 114.11.S []. 119.26.F *My so*. E *My so*. 87.8.T *My so*.
- 114.11.S *perce her hart*. 119.26.F *perse, heart*.
- 114.11.S *as*. E *as*. (altered from *so* by scribe).
- 114.12.S []. 119.27.F *Should*. E *Should*. 87.9.T *Should*.
- 114.12.S *syng wepe*. E *sigh or syng*. 87.9.T *sigh? or singe*.
- 114.13.S []. 119.28.F *No more*. E *No! no!* 87.10.T *No, no*.
- 114.14.S []. 119.29.F *The rocke d*. E *The Rokke d*. D *The Rokk
d*. 87.11.T *The rockes d*.
- 114.14.S []*oth*. E *do*. D *dothe*. 87.11.T *do*.
- 114.15.S []. 119.30.F *Repulse the wau*. E *Repulse the wau*.
87.12.T *Repulse the wau*.
- 114.16.S []. 119.31.F *As she my sute a*. E *As she my suyte a*.
87.13.T *As she my sute a*.
- 114.17.S []. 120.2.F *So that I am*. E *So that I ame*. 87.14.T
So that I am.
- 114.17.S *past all remedy*. E *past remedy*.

THE COURT OF VENUS

- 114.18.S []. 120.3.F *Wherby my.* E *Whereby my.* 87.15.T *Wherby my.*
- 114.19.S [*ene.*] 120.4.F *Proud of the splen.* E *Prewd of the spoyll.* 87.16.T *Proude of the spoile.*
- 114.19.S end of line torn away. 120.4.F *thou hast shot.* E *thou hast gott.* 87.16.T *thou hast gotte.*
- 114.20.S []. 120.5.F *Of symple hart, throu.* E *Of simple herte, thorou.* 87.17.T *Of simple hartes throu.*
- 114.20.S *shot.* 120.5.F *got.*
- 114.21.S []. 120.6.F *Vnkind altho.* E *By whome, vnkynd.* 87.18.T *By whom vnkinde.*
- 114.22.S []. 120.7.F *Thinke not.* E *Thinck not.* 87.19.T *Thinke not.*
- 114.22.S *bow.* 120.7.F *owne.*
- 114.23.S []. 120.8.F *Alt.* E *All t.* 87.20.T *Alt.*
- 114.24.S *may.* E *shall.* D *may.* 87.21.T *shall.*
- 114.24.S *such.* E *thy.* 87.21.T *thy.*
- 114.25.S *maketh.* E *makest.* 87.22.T *makest.*
- 114.25.S *o f.* E *on.* 87.22.T *on.*
- 114.26.S *true.* 120.11.F. *Trow.* E *Thinck.* D *Trow.* 87.23.T *Thinke.*
- 114.27.S [*ngentlylly.*] 120.12.F *Vngently.* E *Vnquyt.* 87.24.T *Vnquit.*
- 114.27.S *the* 120.12.F *to.* E *thy.* 87.24.T *thy.*
- 114.27.S *payne.* 120.12.F *plaine.* E *plain.* 87.24.T *plaine.*
- 114.28.S []. 120.13.F *Al.* E *All.* 87.25.T *Al.* 5 lines in E and 87.26-30.T are lacking in the 5th poem in S and the 2nd poem in F.

(The Prologue)

- 115.16.F misprint *know* for *knew.*
- 115.31.F misprint *relese* for *relese.*
- 116.14.F misprint *Rery* for *Redy.*
- 116.16.F misprint *heare* for *heart.*
- 117.1. F misprint *of Venus* for *The Prologue.*
- 117.13.F ? misprint *court of Venus* for *court, for Venus.*
- 117.27.F ? misprint *inconueniently* for *incontinently: speedily.*
- 120.4. F misprint *shot* for *got.*
- 120.5. F misprint *got* for *shot.*
- 120.16.F *louer.* E *louers.* 87.33.T *louers.*
- 120.16.F *to sighe and sowne.* E *sigh and swoune.* 87.33.T *sigh and swoune.*
- 120.17.F *beauty.* E *beaultie.* D *beawte is.*

VARIANT READINGS AND MISPRINTS

- 120.19.F *My lute be stil.* E *Now cesse, my lute.* 87.36.T *Now cease my lute.*
- 120.21.F *end.* E *ended.* 87.38.T *ended.*
- 120.21.F *that.* E *is that.* 87.38.T *is that.*
- 120.21.F *I have.* E *we.* D *I* altered to *I have now.* 87.38.T *we.*
- 120.22.F *Or when.* E *Now is.* 87.39.T *Now is.*
- 120.22.F *is.* E *boeth.* 87.39.T *both.*
 A line has probably been dropped between 120.30.F and 121.2.F.
- 121.14.F misprint *thouth* for *though.*
- 121.23.F *nothing.* 79.4.T *ye not.*
- 121.23.F. *honesty.* 79.4.T *honestly.*
- 121.24.F *Dysdayne me not.* Lacking in 79.T.
- 121.28.F *The.* 79.8.T *This.*
- 121.28.F *nedes.* 79.8.T *neades.*
- 121.29.F *Refuse me not.* Lacking in 79.T.
- 121.31.F *thy.* 79.10.T *my.*
- 121.32.F *seyng.* 79.11.T *sins.*
- 122.3. F *Mystrust me not.* Lacking in 79.T.
- 122.5. F adapted from 79.14-15.T.
- 122.5. F *swarue.* 79.14.T *offend.*
- 122.6. F *For.* 79.16.T *But.*
- 122.6. F *syth.* 79.16.T *sins.*
- 122.6. F *you.* 79.16.T *ye.*
- 122.6. F *knew.* 79.16.T *know.*
- 122.7. F *Forsake me not.* Lacking in 79.T.
- 122.8. F *being.* 79.17.T *that am.*
- 122.9. F *that I am.* 79.18.T *that am.*
- 122.10.F *knowen.* 79.19.T *knowne.*
- 122.11.F *newer.* 79.20.T *not, ne.*
- 122.12.F *Disdayne me not.* Lacking in 79.T.
- 122.32.F misprint *oue* for *loue.*
- 123.32.F concludes with &c., indicating the omission of 4 lines that would have followed, completing the normal 8 line stanza of the poem.
- 124.12.F misprint *meane* for *meanes.*
- 124.18.F *fantasy.* E *fansy.*
- 124.19.F *I.* E *my.*
- 124.19.F *deserue and.* E *deseruing.*
- 124.20.F *my lady paramour.* E *my paramor.*
- 124.22.F *And.* E *But.*
- 124.22.F *not.* E *cannot.*
- 124.26.F *Fantasy.* E *Ffansy.*

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- 124.26.F *knoweth*. E *doeth knowe*. A *doth know*.
 124.27.F *forbare*. E *fourther*.
 124.28.F *It*. E *If*.
 124.28.F *fantasye*. E *fansy*.
 124.29.F *Wyth sayth to take part*. D *With fayth for to take parte*.
 124.30.F *fantasy*. E *fansy*. D omits 11.13-16.
 124.30.F *is frayle*. E *is so fraill*.
 124.31.F *fletynge*. E *flitting*.
 124.34.F *Since*. E *Ffor*.
 124.34.F *fantasy*. E *fansy*.
 124.35.F *Doth*. E *Doeth*.
 124.35.F *al by gesse*. E *all but by gesse*.
 124.36.F *put*. E *then*.
 124.37.F *and*. E *or*.
 124.38.F *Yet gladly would I please*. E *Yet gladdely would I please*.
 A Yet wolde I please.
 125.34.F misprint *breaket* for *breake*.
 126.15.F misprint *scace* for *scarce*.
 126.17.F misprint *no* for *not*.
 126.18.F misprint *night* for *nightes*.
 126.49.F misprint *no* for *not*.
 127.21.F *letters*. E abbreviated to *tres*.
 127.22.F *And many*. E *A*. 65.7.T *A*.
 127.22.F *thousands*. E *thousand*. 65.7.T *thousand*.
 127.22.F *mo*. E *sighis and mo*. 65.7.T *sighes and mo*.
 127.23.F *The*. E *A*. 65.8.T *A*.
 127.23.F *flouds*. E *flod*. 65.8.T *flood*.
 127.26.F *woful*. E *morning*. 65.11.T. *moornyng*.
 127.28.F *who can*. E *who that can*. D *who can*. 65.13.T *who so can*.
 127.28.F misprint *depart* for *part*.
 127.29.F *in me must nedes*. E *Nedes must in me*. 65.14.T *Nedes must in me*. 11th poem in F drops the eighth line in the stanza, found in E and 65.16.T.
 128.3. F *neuer saw*. 65.18.T *saw neuer*.
 128.6. F *How*. E *Alas how*. D *How*. 65.21.T *Alas: how*.
 128.6. F *I than*. D *I do then*.
 128.7. F *tasted*. D *tast*. 65.22.T *taste*.
 128.10.F *Such chaunce*. E *But yet*. 65.25.T *But yet*.
 128.10.F *may*. E *som*. 65.25.T *some*.
 128.11.F *To cause me*. E *May chaunce to*. 65.26.T *May chance to*.
 128.12.F *such*. 65.27.T (*Souch*).
 128.12.F *doth*. E *doeth*.
 128.13.F *fortune*. 65.28.T *fortune?*

VARIANT READINGS AND MISPRINTS

- 128.14.F *such chaunce do chaunce.* E *I have chaunce.* Souche is inserted in the MS by a later hand. D *suche chance do chaunce.*
65.29.T *I haue (Souch) chance.*
- 128.15.F *or.* E *ere.* 65.30.T *ere.*
- 128.16.F *such.* 65.31.T (*Souch*).
- 128.31.F words obliterated; probable reading *for al.*

2. The Editions¹

A. The Douce Fragment 1537-1539

Title page: None.

Colophon: None

Collation: 8°, 15 leaves, signatures E-F8 (lacking F8), un-paged.

Signatures: Only the first four leaves in each gathering are signed. A period occurs after the signature letter on even-numbered leaves.

Folio numbers run from *Fo. xxxi* on E1^r to *Fo. xlv* on F7^r, but they are clipped and sometimes nearly obliterated by cropping of the head margin on E1, E3-E6, E8-F7. The prefix is normally *Fo.*, with a period after the word and after the numbers, but on E7 and F5 it reads *Fol.*, and on F3 the period is omitted after the numbers. The prefix is probably *Fol.* on F7, but the head margin is cropped, and it is difficult to be certain of the reading. The folio number *xexviii* on E8 is a misprint for *xxxviii*.

Catchwords: None.

Type: Textura black-letter (20 lines measure 82 mm.).

Running titles: *Venus* appears on E1^r and F5^r, and *The court of* on E1^v. *Tale.* appears on E2^r-E6^r, E8^r-F4^r, and F6^r, *tale* is the running title on E7^r, and *Tale* on F7^r. The *pelgryms* appears on E2^v-E3^v, E5^v, F1^v, F3^v-F5^v, F7^v; *The pelgrims* on E4^v, E6^v, F6^v; *The pylgrims* on E7^v; and *The pylgryms.* on E8^v, F2^v. A misshapen punctuation mark that was probably a question mark follows the running title on E8^v, F1^r, F2^v and F4^r.

Contents: *The Court of Venus* section of the fragment begins on E1^r, with the last two lines of one stanza of a lyric poem, and two stanzas more of a second lyric. E1^v concludes the second poem. Both poems are probably by Sir Thomas Wyatt. *The Pilgrim's Tale*, probably by Robert Shyngleton, begins on the middle of E1^v and runs to F7^v, where it breaks off unfinished.

Copy: Only one incomplete copy of this edition of *The Court*

¹ No attempt has been made to render the exact typography of the originals in the following bibliographical descriptions.

THE EDITIONS

of *Venus* and *The Pilgrim's Tale* is known to survive: that in the Douce collection (formerly Douce Fr. 92^b, now Douce g.3) of the Bodleian Library. E1^r and E1^v bear notes referring to Thomas Becon and Thomas Tyrwhitt in the hand of William Herbert. In his 1775 edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, Tyrwhitt says:

Though Mr. Speght [editor of Chaucer in 1598] did not know where to find the Pilgrim's tale, and the Printer of the Edition in 1687 assures us, that he had searched for it 'in the Public libraries of both Universities,' and also 'in all private libraries that he could have access unto,' I have had the good fortune to meet with a copy. . . . [It is] in the black letter, and seems to have once made part of a volume of miscellaneous poems in 8vo. The first leaf is numbered xxxi and the last xlv. *The Pilgrim's tale* begins about the middle of fol. xxxi vers. and continues to the end of the fragment, where it breaks off imperfect. The first leaf has a running title—*Venus The court of*—and contains the ten last lines of one poem, and another whole poem of twenty lines, before *the Pilgrim's tale*.

This curious fragment was purchased at the auction of Mr. West's library, in a lot (N^o *1040)² of *Sundry fragments of old black-letter books*, by Mr. Herbert of Gulston's Square, who has very obligingly permitted me to examine it.³

The owner of the Douce fragment prior to Herbert was the politician and antiquary, James West⁴ (1704?-1773). Where West acquired the Douce fragment is not known. Speght, who had not known of *The Pilgrim's Tale* in 1598, said in his 1602 edition of Chaucer that a search would be made for the *Tale*. But *The Pilgrim's Tale* eluded efforts to discover it for two centuries. The publisher of the 1687 edition of Chaucer examined both university libraries and some private libraries in vain. The editors of the next edition simply recorded the failure of previous attempts to locate the poem. Tyrwhitt saw it, but, despite his remarks, *The Pilgrim's Tale* again sank from view until it was acquired by the great collector, Francis Douce (1757-1834).⁵ In 1875 *The Pil-*

² Purchased with the preceding lot, N. 1040: *Fruits of Solitude* (1706) and Fielding's *Examples of Murder* (1752). See *Bibliotheca Westiana: A Catalogue of the Library of James West* (London, 1773), p. 59.

³ Tyrwhitt, I, xv.

⁴ See Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530-1930)* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 51; *D.N.B.*, LX (1899), 330 f.; and Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliomania* (London, 1876), pp. 376-384, for an account of West's library.

⁵ See De Ricci, p. 101.

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grim's Tale was preserved by a Chaucer Society edition under the direction of F. J. Furnivall.

The condition of the Douce fragment is relatively good. What appears to be cropping of the paper has cut away in varying measure folio numbers on several leaves, and the running titles on E3^r, E6^v, F1^v-F2^v, F4^v, and F6^v-F7^v. The text has been spared tearing of the paper, but the bottom line on E7^r is largely obscured by cropping, which cuts into the text slightly on F1^v. The printing is poor, with numerous typographical errors.⁶

B. The Stark Fragment 1547-1549

Title page: None.

Colophon: None.

Collation: 8°, 2 leaves, no signatures, unpagged.

Folio numbers: On the upper right-hand margin of the recto of the first leaf is printed *Fo.44*. The margin on the second leaf has crumbled away.

Catchwords: *For* (Fo.44^r), *My* (Fo.44^v).

Type: Textura black-letter (20 lines measure 61 mm.).

Running titles: *A Boke* appears on the verso of each leaf, and of *Balettes* on the recto.

Contents: This fragment contains five short lyric poems, two of which are incomplete. Numbers 1, 4, and 5 are by Sir Thomas Wyatt. No. 2 expands a poem of Wyatt's in the Devonshire MS,⁷ and probably represents the poet's final version. No. 3 is of uncertain authorship. The complete *Boke of Balettes* must have included a great number of poems that have been lost, for since foliation runs to 45 leaves, a book of at least ninety pages is indicated.

Copy: Only one fragment of *A Boke of Balettes* is known to be in existence. It is in the Miriam Lutcher Stark collection of the University of Texas Library, and was discovered in 1928 in the form of end-papers in a copy of the 1551 English translation of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. The binding is a very old and dark tooled calf, and is possibly the original. Fleurs-de-lis are tooled in the corners and center. "The interior back strip, or 'super,' is

⁶ For an enumeration of the errors in Douce, Stark, and Folger, see the Table of Variant Readings and Misprints.

⁷ The earliest-known collection of Wyatt's poems. For information on the Devonshire MS, see the chapter on "The Relationship of the Fragments."

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from an old parchment manuscript; and here and there on blank pages is a handwriting that probably belongs to the sixteenth century. The poems are on two printed leaves which the printer used for end-papers at the back instead of the customary blank leaves."⁸ The verso of the *Utopia* colophon, opposite the recto of the first leaf of Stark, bears the following writing in a sixteenth-century hand: "Ballettes/The Fantasy/Willm Buckberte/John'nes Braythewayte/ est verus possessor huius/ libri ex doni William/ Buckberte/ Sola scientia certa." William Buckberte, donor of the *Utopia*, and perhaps the first owner of Stark in its present form, was a gentleman landholder, who received, on July 24, 1557, a grant of the reversion of certain lands which he was to hold together with William Rigges of Straglethorpe, Gentleman.⁹ I have not been able to identify Johannes Braythewayte. Either Buckberte or Braythewayte must have examined the curious end-papers of the *Utopia*, for the first two words of *A Boke of Ballettes*, "The fantasy," and part of the running title, misspelled "Ballettes," are jotted down above Buckberte's name. No further information concerning the provenance of the fragment is available. The *Utopia* shows no marks of ownership, except for the Buckberte-Braythewayte inscription, prior to Mrs. Miriam L. Stark's bookplate.¹⁰

One of the two leaves of the fragment is in very poor condition; the first is fairly good, except for a tear in the paper which partly destroys the reading of the first line of the second poem. The verso of the first leaf is in approximately the same condition as the recto, with a tear in the paper obliterating the last word in the first line, third stanza of the second poem. Deterioration of the paper seriously mutilates the text on the recto and verso of the second leaf. The printing is generally careless, and there are many misprints.

C. The Folger Fragment 1561-1564

Title page: [within a compartment, McKerrow and Ferguson, 107] THE/ Courte of/ Venus. Newly/ and diligently cor-/rected

⁸ R. H. Griffith and R. A. Law, "'A Boke of Balettes' and 'The Courte of Venus,'" *University of Texas Studies in English*, 1930, p. 6.

⁹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls. Philip and Mary 1557-1558* (London, 1939), IV, 214-216. I am indebted to Miss Emma Marshall Denkinger for the identification of Buckberte.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Miss Fannie Ratchford for this information.

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tion to it, appeared in the year 1565 . . . it must have been in or before that year.¹¹

Thorpe bought the fragment for £7 2s. 6d. At the Britwell sale in February, 1922, the *Court*, designated as Lot 176, was sold for £140 (indicating a growing appreciation of its importance) to Dr. A.S.W. Rosenbach.¹² It is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, and is still bound in the old half green roan with pink paper boards which was B. H. Bright's favorite binding.¹³ The lot number of the Bright sale is on the front cover, and someone has written "Bright 1498" on a flyleaf.¹⁴

The condition of the fragment is fair, although the left margin and part of the text on A2^v are badly stained. Less serious staining is observable on A7^r and A8^v. Part of the bottom margin has been shorn away on A2-A3^v, and writing in a sixteenth-century hand, which transcribes stanza 5 of "My penne take payne," is found in the right margin of A4^r. The right margin of A5^r gives a numerical notation of some sort in a modern hand, and an undecipherable scribble, mostly erased, disfigures A6^v. Cropping of the bottom margin on A3^v has partially destroyed the last line on the page, and tearing of the paper on A8^v has destroyed the greater part of two words in the next to the last line on the page. Printing is poor and typographical errors are numerous.

¹¹ *Catalogue of the Valuable Library of Benjamin Heywood Bright* (London, 1845), p. 103.

¹² *Catalogue of a Further Selection . . . from the Renowned Library formerly at Britwell Court* (London, 1922), p. 30.

¹³ De Ricci, pp. 107 f., n.

¹⁴ I am grateful to Dr. James G. McManaway for this information.

Glossarial Index

It is intended that this glossary serve, not as a concordance, but as an explanatory primer to the text of the poems. To that end, the attempt has been made to elucidate only those words and phrases which offer difficulty. Many of the explanations will doubtless be thought elementary, but are set down nonetheless for the purpose of making available a maximum amount of lexicographical material on the poems. Biblical references like *abell*, *ely*, *tessalonians*, are assumed in most cases to require no gloss.

References like 104(19) and 126(28) are to pages and lines of the text.

- abiron*, *Abiram*, one of the sons of Eliab, the Reubenite, destroyed with Korah for a conspiracy against Moses, 104 (8)
- a forne*, before, 108(10)
- albert*, Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, and author in 1210 of the primitive Carmelite rule, 87(14)
- aliens*, probably "allianced," which is first noticed by the *N.E.D.* in the late seventeenth century, 104(7)
- a mort*, lifeless, inanimate. The earliest example given by the *N.E.D.* is in 1590, 108(2)
- anscetry*, ancestry (not in *N.E.D.*), 89(18)
- anthony*, disciples of St. Anthony of Padua (1195-1231), most celebrated follower of St. Francis of Assisi, 88(10)
- apollo*, cited, not as god of music and poetry, but rather as one pre-eminent in prophecy, 90(10)
- appostalat*, apostatized. *N.E.D.*, following Furnivall's reading, gives "apostatat," 93(16)
- aquin*, see *Sthomas the aquin*
- ask*, a newt or eft, 101 (24)
- austen*, St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (354-430), 83 (23)
- autorte*, authority, 108(3)
- bale*, evil, 109(20)
- barnardyns*, Bernardines, monastic order of St. Bernard, a Cistercian who was abbot of Clairvaux in 1115, 83 (27)
- be*, by, 98(23)
- beall*, Belial. In the *Sibylline Oracles*, Belial is the great evil power of

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- the world, or Antichrist. His dwelling, of course, is in Rome, 97(18)
- bealles*, Belial's, 99(25)
- bede*, the Venerable Bede (673-735), 107(22)
- begyled*, beguiled, 82(19)
- benedictins*, followers of St. Benedict of Nursia (c.480-c.544), 84(2)
- benet*, St. Benedict of Nursia (c.480-c.544), 84(15)
- beyn*, been, 82(19)
- blak flet of norway*, a prophetic reference, in ages past, to the Scandinavian invaders of England; and later, to any specific calamity, 109(22)
- bowcer*, bursar, 85(7)
- bown*, ready, prepared, 102(20)
- bowne*, to go, 115(12); bound, 117(14)
- by*, in, 83(20)
- bylles*, supplicatory addresses, 116(17)
- carmelltes*, Carmelites, one of the four mendicant orders, 87(14)
- cephas*, Caiaphas, high priest of the Jews, A.D. 27-36; thought of as a prophet, 90(10)
- Cethro*, Cithaeron, a mountain of Boeotia sacred to Bacchus and the Muses; also, Cythera, an island off the coast of Laconia, near which Venus first rose from the sea, 116(27)
- chanons*, canons, 87(18)
- cobler*, Nicholas Melton, a leader of the Lincolnshire rebels in 1536, 99(2)
- coler*, collar (of the Roman Catholic clergy), 109(28)
- cowld*, could (not in *N.E.D.*), 105(17)
- datban*, Dathan, a Reubenite chieftain who joined in Korah's rebellion, 104(8)
- dawe*, simpleton, 99(2)
- dell*, deal, part, 94(19)
- deme*, deem: to judge, 107(27)
- Diana*, goddess of chastity, 117(15)
- dominikis*, Dominicans, an order of friars founded by St. Dominic (1170-1221), 87(10)
- douns*, Duns Scotus (1265-75—1308), 87(11)
- ellis*, else, 82(19)
- faulcon*, St. John the Evangelist, 106(28)
- feytuosly*, featously, elegantly, 89(8)
- fonge*, receive, accept, 108(3)
- ford of stone*, Stamford, 109(13)
- fowther*, a definite weight of some specified substance; of lead: now usually 19½ cwt., 83(12)

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- Francis*, St. Francis of Assisi (1181-82—1226), founder of the Franciscans, 84(19)
- fraurd*, froward, 96(12)
- fryng*, fringe, 89(3)
- fuet*, fuyt, feute: the traces or track of an animal, 110(2)
- fulmerd*, foumart: polecat, 110(4)
- gat*, way, path, 82(25)
- Genius*, the god of generation, 115(27)
- gren*, green, 82(25)
- gyes*, guise: manner, method, 110(10)
- gylbertin*, Gilbertine, a member of the only religious order of English origin, founded by St. Gilbert of Sempringham (c. 1083-89—1189), 88(11)
- had for*, held to be, 84(8)
- had I wyst*, after-regrets (Hazlitt, *English Proverbs*, London, 1882, p. 95), 123(16)
- halowe*, saint: Our Lady of Walsingham, 83(2)
- harolydis*, herald's 98(18)
- Heccates*, Hecate, goddess of the Lower World, worshiped as goddess of spells and enchantments, 117(16)
- hed*, heeded, 106(11)
- heremo*, the *De opere monachorum* of St. Augustine, 83(23)
- hermytes*, Eremites of St. Augustine, a branch of the Augustinian friars, 87(15)
- hething*, scoffing, derision, 96(23)
- heyll*, hale, free from injury, 102(4)
- hod*, hood, 89(2)
- hyrdis*, hards, hurds, the coarser part of flax or hemp separated in hackling, 88(20)
- Iannes & manbres*, Jannes and Jambres, two famous magicians of Egypt, who are supposed to have used their art to deceive Pharaoh, 103(18)
- Iek straw*, Jack Straw, the leader of a party of insurgents from Essex in the Peasants' Rising of 1381, 98(28)
- iclousye*, suspicion, mistrust, 117(28)
- in euery sted*, everywhere, 83(8)
- ingnorant*, ignorant, 103(16)
- in ordinat*, disorderly, 93(17)
- knynght*, knight (not in *N.E.D.*), 85(12)
- lear*, lere: learn, 106(15)
- lenghe*, length, 83(16)
- leyd*, lead, 83(12)
- lichfeld*, in October, 1535, an ecclesiastical commission appointed by

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Thomas Cromwell inspected a nunnery at Lichfield, where they found two of the sisterhood to be "not barren." The Chancellor at that time was Thomas Gresham, 92(25).

- lowt*, lout, bend, 92(12)
lyon, St. Mark, 106(28)
lyuelod, livelihood, 86(21)
malle, maw, 92(18)
man, St. Matthew, 106(28)
manbres, see *Iannes & manbres*
martin swarthe, Martin Schwartz (d. 1487), a German nobleman who led the auxiliaries sent by the Duchess of Burgundy with Lambert Simnel, and who fell fighting at the Battle of Stoke, 98(24)
mell, mix, mingle, 99(22)
mendicantes, of those religious orders living entirely on alms, the most important were four: Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinian Hermits, 87(24)
merlin, the soothsayer of the Arthurian legend, 104(12)
meyt, mete, measure. The earliest example given by the *N.E.D.* is in 1768, 107(7)
minors, Minor Friars, Franciscans, 87(12)
mokis, mocks, 94(9)
mothe, mouth, 94(5)
mous, mows, grimaces, 94(9)
Mynos, son of Zeus and Europa, king of Crete, 116(26)
mysters, mistress, 120(26)
nedles, needless, 84(8)
niffels, trifles, 98(16)
nother, nor, 122(24)
other, others, 88(10)
oxe, St. Luke, 106(28)
pease, appease, 109(3)
perkyn werkek, Perkin Warbeck (1474-1499) pretended to be Richard, Duke of York, the second son of Edward IV, and was ultimately hanged by order of Henry VII, 98(28)
proue, result, 82(4)
quart, health, 102(4)
queme, quiet, still, 107(28)
raynt, ? from "ream": to shout, cry aloud, bawl (not in *N.E.D.*), 116(16)
reprosse, reproach, 84(2)
repungne, repugn: to be contrary or opposed to a thing, 104(13)
romant of the rose, the latter part of this long allegorical poem adapts

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- a portion of Jean de Meun's satire on religion and the social order; hence its pertinence here, 109(24)
- rowm*, room, 85(8)
- sempynhā*, Sempringham, chief of the monasteries established by St. Gilbert of Sempringham (1083-89—1189), 82(15)
- shanyllynges*, shavelings, a contemptuous epithet for tonsured priests, 99(25)
- shoude*, ? shod, 94(2)
- showd*, shod, 87(4)
- showpe*, shaped, caused, 82(21)
- slechy*, ? derived from "sleck"; soft mud, ooze: muddy, slimy; Scottish "sleech" is "slime" (not in *N.E.D.*), 109(9)
- stampford*, Stamford, chosen in 1333 as the headquarters of students who seceded from Oxford, 108(12)
- sted*, see *in euery sted*
- steuyn*, fame, report, 105(8)
- Sthomas the aquin*, St. Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-74), 87(10)
- strenghe*, quality of being strong, 83(15)
- studiū*, the technical name for a school, 108(8)
- Stylbone*, one of the hounds of Actaeon, and another name for Mercury, 116(24)
- summer*, summoner, an officer of the Ecclesiastical Court, 92(20)
- surquidus*, overweening, arrogant, 96(12)
- swynk*, toil, 83(21)
- syngnify*, signify, 110(16)
- the*, thee: prosper, 83(25)
- there*, their, 83(21)
- tho*, they, 82(19); those, 84(9)
- thomas*, see *Sthomas the aquin*
- thought*, though, 90(28)
- thu*, thou, 99(14)
- thuche*, ? a variation of "thickey": an exclamation used to call attention to anything (not in *N.E.D.*), 104(14)
- tretynis*, probably from the verb "treatise": to treat or write of, 103(20)
- tryue*, thrive, 83(25)
- turnyng the cate in the pane*, reversing the order of things so dexterously as to make them appear the opposite of what they really are, 108(21)
- vada bouū*, the ford of oxen: Oxford, 108(8)
- walsinghā*, Walsingham Priory, a famous place of pilgrimage, 82(23)
- wylnieth*, desireth, 86(16)
- wyst*, see *had I wyst*

Index of First Lines

References are to page numbers. If a poem is common to both Stark and Folger fragments, the page number is given for each occurrence of the poem, with the first page number representing occurrence in Stark, the earlier fragment. Spelling is modernized, to facilitate reference by the reader.

Disdain me not without desert	121
Driven by desire to set affection	81
During of pain and grievous smart	125
Fortune what aileth thee	122
I may by no means surmise	123
If fantasy would favor	124
In Lincolnshire fast by the fen	82
In the month of May when the new tender green	115
Love whom ye list and spare not	111, 126
Marvel no more although	127
My lute awake perform the last	114, 119
My pen take pain a little space	113, 118
Now must I learn to feign	126
Shall she never out of my mind	112, 128
The fantasy of my heart	111
To whom should I sue to ease my pain	120
Which had me in the snare	81

Key to Abbreviations

Animadversions—Francis Thynne, *Animadversions vpon the Annotations and Corrections of some imperfections of impressions of Chaucers workes 1598*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (London, Chaucer Society, 1876).

Athenae—Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (4 vols.; London, 1813).

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Athenae Cantabrigienses, see COOPER.

Athenae Oxonienses, see WOOD.

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CAPELLA, see MARTIANUS CAPELLA.

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